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ABSTRACT

This study of the Italian-Argentine composer, Domenico Zipoli, first presents a brief background and biography of Zipoli, discusses the reasons for the scarcity of representative materials in the musical literature, and reviews the non-Spanish literature about the composer. A bibliographic essay focusing on the 20th century Spanish language materials about Zipoli is then presented, and a citation analysis based on these works identifies core materials for the study of the composer. Translations of 32 pertinent Spanish and non-Spanish/non-English documents covered in the literature review and a bibliometric summary of quantitative information about Zipoli-related material cataloged in the United States are appended. (Contains 56 references.) (Author/KRN)

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Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726): A Bibliographic Perspective

A Master's Research Paper submitted to the
Kent State University School of Library Science
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree Master of Library Science

by

Mark A. Crook

25 April, 1991

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ABSTRACT

Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726) was an Italian-Argentine composer whose music is being re-evaluated in light of recent discoveries in Latin America. In this study, the author first presents a brief background and biography of Zipoli and discusses the reasons for the scarcity of representative material in the musical literature and reviews the non-Spanish literature about Zipoli. Next, the author presents a bibliographic essay focusing on the 20th century Spanish-language materials about the composer. Finally a citation analysis based on these works identifies core materials for the study of Zipoli. The author attaches appendices of his translations of pertinent materials covered in the literature review, the bibliographic essay and the bibliometric study.

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Introduction

For most people, the music of the Baroque era emanated from the European continent. However, in the Jesuit reductions of South America,[1] missionary musicians fostered a parallel development of the Baroque musical style in support of their mission to save the souls of the natives *ad majorem Dei gloriam*. One of the Jesuit missionaries who had a significant impact on the development of music among the European settlers, black slaves, and native Indians of South America was a transplanted Italian of considerable renown in Europe: Domenico Zipoli.

Unfortunately, most of Zipoli's works from his American period had been lost until recently. Discoveries made in South America since 1950 have shown that the European master continued his career as a composer. In his isolation from the musical forces of Europe, Zipoli continued to write music in his own Baroque style. The ongoing discovery and analysis of the South American works help to form a clearer picture of the foundations of the music of the New World. In addition, they assist us in rightfully assessing Zipoli's musical place among such Baroque giants as Bach, Handel, Telemann, and Vivaldi.

1.Manfred Barthel, The Jesuits: History and Legend of the Society of Jesus (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1984), 201-202. Barthel explains that the word reduction comes from the Spanish word, *reducir*, which means "to bring together" or "coalesce." The reductions were a "system of Indian reservations" where "no white man except the viceroy should be allowed to set foot on these Jesuit reserves without permission ... The Jesuits began replacing the old plantation economy with a system of economic autarchy -- total self sufficiency ... there was no money, and virtually none of the problems that money can buy, as long as the outside world could be kept at bay ... nominally under the control of the Spanish viceroy."

Research Objectives

The first objective of this study was to locate, acquire, and translate the 20th century Spanish language materials about Domenico Zipoli. Effective translation in itself is an important, scholarly activity since it deepens the translator's knowledge of the language and makes the works more accessible to English-speaking readers. Important non-Spanish, non-English works used in the literature review comprise one appendix to this study. To promote both access and use as a reference tool, the translations of the Spanish materials are included in another appendix to this study and are available in machine-readable form from the author. The reader should note that all quotations from non-English language materials appear in English translation; page number references are to pages in the original document.

As the review of the non-Spanish literature will show, no comprehensive bibliographic analysis of Spanish-language materials has been done in either Spanish or English to date. To address this shortcoming, the second objective of this study was to produce a bibliographic essay evaluating the documents' coverage and intellectual contents to achieve the following ends:

1. To identify available Spanish language documents about Zipoli,
2. To preserve these materials in English language and machine-readable form,
3. To assess the factual reliability of the works against accepted fact and recent findings,
4. To gain some insight into Zipoli - the individual and his music.

The final objective of this paper was to identify the core Spanish language sources for scholarly research about Zipoli using a simple citation frequency analysis. A quantitative report on Zipoli-related materials cataloged on OCLC makes up the final appendix to this study.

Background and Biography

Domenico Zipoli was born on the 17th of October 1688 in the Tuscan town of Prato. Although a smaller city than neighboring Florence, Prato itself had a rich musical heritage that stretched from the brilliant organ builder of the 15th century, Matteo da Prato, to the kapellmeisters Ottavio Termini and Giovanni Francesco Beccatelli (a Florentine), who probably gave Zipoli his earliest musical training at the Prato Cathedral.[2] Suffice it to say that all of Baroque Italy was similarly populated with extraordinary musical talent and it was into this splendid musical environment that Zipoli arrived.

Neither of Zipoli's parents were musicians by trade; it is unknown whether either received musical training or practiced musical instruments in the house. Zipoli's father, Sabatino, was a peasant who "attended to part of the San Martino farm on the properties of the wealthy Nardini family."[3] Little is known of background of Zipoli's mother, Eugenia Varrochi, except that she was 13 years younger than her husband, probably in her early twenties when she married, and that 7 children were born of the marriage, Domenico being the fifth.[4]

2.Robert M[urrell] Stevenson, "Zipoli's Transit through Dictionaries," Inter-American Music Review 9 (Spring/Summer 1989): 24; Francisco Curt Lange, "Domenico Zipoli: Storia di una riscoperta," Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana 2 (April/June 1985): 207, mentions Nicolo Rovinetti (organist) as another possible teacher; Roberto Becheri, "Domenico Zipoli," preface to Domenico Zipoli, Dell'offese a vendicarmi (Padova: Edizioni G. Zanibon, 1985), mentions S. Falagiani (kapellmeister) as yet another early instructor; the complete English translation of this work is included in Appendix A; Susan Elizabeth Erickson-Bloch, "The Keyboard Music of Domenico Zipoli," (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1975), 8, claims that Zipoli studied with Piero Sammartini and G. M. Pagliardi at the Florence Cathedral, which Stevenson refutes in "Zipoli's Transit", 24.

3.Lange, "Storia," 3.

4.Stevenson, "Zipoli's Transit," 24, 29. According to Stevenson, the Zipoli children for which an historical record exist are: Giuseppe (a violinist) and Margherita *b* 1674, Giovanbattista *b* 1681 (a priest and teacher), Maria Maddelena *b* 1686, and Anton Francesco *b* 1694 (a priest). Compare Francisco Curt Lange, "O caso Domenico Zipoli: Uma retificaçao histórica," Barroco 5 (1973): 7-44. Professor Lange inserts another sibling prior to Domenico's birth, namely Archangelo, *b* 1683. According to Professor Lange, "we don't know when he died" (pages 13-14). The addition of Archangelo would complete the list of the seven children of Sabatino and Eugenia Zipoli.

Zipoli was confirmed in 1699 by Monsignor Leone Strozzi, the Bishop of Pistoia and Prato. He probably sang in the cathedral choir and in this capacity it was likely that his precocious musical talent was discovered. By 1707, it became clear that the young Zipoli's talent needed further cultivation, and a petition was submitted to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III, for a grant to continue his studies in Florence.[5] The Grand Duke approved a stipend of 3 *scudi* per month for a year, whereupon Zipoli moved to Florence.[6] Zipoli's promising musical skills found their way into print in 1708 as "one of the 24 composers commissioned to set Domenico Canavese's libretto, Sara in Egitto."[7]. One of the associate composers of this work was Zipoli's teacher, Giovanni Maria Casini. A second petition for funds was made on 28 July 1708 and it was later approved by the Grand Duke who directed Zipoli to seek out Alessandro Scarlatti in Naples for further instruction. According to Father Martini, this relationship was quickly broken off due to "strong differences of opinion."[8] The disillusioned young man fled to the Convent of San Barbazino in Bologna ostensibly to study with the theoretician, Lavinio Felice Vannucci and to collect himself from what must have been a disquieting experience. The precise duration of Zipoli's stay with Vannucci is unknown, but Zipoli had left Bologna and gone to Rome to study with Bernardo Pasquini sometime before the latter's death in late 1710. It was from this beginning in Rome that Zipoli's creativity would blossom, allowing him to circulate among Rome's most notable artists and their patrons.

Zipoli must have established himself quickly among the musical elite of Rome. Soon after his arrival, he must have become known to the Congregation of Saint Cecilia,

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5.Lange, "Storia," 207, says that the petition went to the son of Cosimo III, Prince Ferdinand.

6.The complete English translations of the texts of Zipoli's two petitions can be found in Appendix A.

7.Stevenson, "Zipoli's Transit," 24. Becheri, "Domenico Zipoli," points out that Zipoli's music was that of "two arias of the Pharaoh."

8.G. B. Martini, Scittori di Musica: Notizie storiche e loro opere. Tomo piccolo in piedi, volume N-Z, 557; quoted in Tagliavini's preface to the Sonate d'Intavolatura.

since they commissioned him to write Vespri e Mesa di San Carlo for the years 1710, 1712, and 1713.[9] Unfortunately, these works have never been discovered. His acceptance in the artistic circles of Rome is further reinforced by the appearance (in 1712) of his first generally-recognized solo work, Sant' Antonio di Padova, with a libretto by a renowned poet of the Arcadian Academy, Carlo Uslenghi. The score of this "melodrama"[10] has been lost, only the libretto is extant. In 1714, Zipoli joined the Congregation of Saint Cecilia.[11] On Palm Sunday of the same year, his second collaboration with an Arcadian (librettist Giovanni Battista Grappelli), the oratorio for four voices Santa Caterina, vergine e martire, was premiered. Unfortunately, only the libretto of this work has been discovered. Obviously, young Zipoli's talent had allowed him to make important connections in Rome and his music enjoyed certain popularity.

But it is for his Sonate d'Intavolatura per Organo e Cembalo (1 January 1716) that Zipoli's historical reputation is based. In the Sonate d'Intavolatura, Zipoli expands on the Frescobaldian keyboard tradition and "pays homage to a long tradition by including a diversity of pieces in a style that is distinctively his own."[12] Ayestarán summarizes the Sonate d'Intavolatura in this way:

> The elegance in the style of the form and the melodic vein of fine articulation, a broad vein that irrigates all the pieces of his sonatas with original melodic substance, makes their character very moving.[13]

He dedicated the work to his long-time patroness, the talented Princess Maria Teresa Strozzi, in whose palace Zipoli and other prominent Roman artists were frequent guests.

9.Lange, "Storia," 209, 224-225.

10.Ibid., 209. According to Professor Lange, Uslenghi called the work a "melodrama according to the practice of the time, while in reality it had the form and content of an oratorio."

11.Stevenson, "Zipoli's Transit," 28.

12.Erickson-Bloch, "The Keyboard Music," 144.

13.Lauro Ayestarán, Domenico Zipoli - vida y obra (Buenos Aires: Pontificia Universidad Catolica Argentina, 1962), 28.

This time period was one of rapid developments for Zipoli, since he had by now established himself as one of the premier organists and composers in the city, regularly serving as a guest organist at various churches, including those of the Society of Jesus. Lange's evidence conclusively shows that Zipoli could not have held the post of kapellmeister or organist at *Il Gesù*, but that he might have performed there in an *ad honorem* capacity.[14]

Also during this time of intense creativity, Zipoli decided to join the ranks of the Jesuits on 1 July 1716. Whether he joined because of the influence of two of his brothers joining the priesthood, a religious predilection, the poverty of his early years, a genuine concern for the New World missions, or a combination of all of these influences is unknown.[15] It has even been suggested that Zipoli might have joined the Jesuits over the frustration of not being able to overcome the "social gulfs" that separated him from Maria Teresa Strozzi.[16] Whatever the reason, Zipoli left Rome for Seville (Spain) soon after he had joined the Society of Jesus to await a ship to the New World.

Zipoli joined the novitiate in Seville and spent about nine months there as the group assembled for departure and preparations were made for their trip. According to Peramás, "he left a sufficient specimen of himself at the organ of the Cathedral of Seville"; but Cardiel adds other information: "they offered him the job of kapellmesiter in the Cathedral of that city, but he did not accept such an honorable position 'to enter into

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14.Lange, "Storia," 212.

15.Francisco Curt Lange, Liner notes to sound recording SQI - 4059: Domenico Zipoli: Misa en Fa mayor para coro, solistas, cuerdas y bajo continuo; Sonata in La mayor para violin y bajo continuo; Cantata para solista y bajo continuo (Buenos Aires: Qualiton, 1975).

16.Lange, "Storia," 211. Professor Lange attributes this hypothesis to Guillermo Furlong. In the texts included in Appendix B, Furlong mentions Strozzi only once as the Princess of Forano to whom Zipoli dedicated the Sonate d'Intavolatura. Professor Lange does not provide us the source of Furlong's hypothesis. Lange states the evidence of Zipoli's character should cause us to reject such an "imaginative tendency."

the Society'."[17] Unfortunately, no musical evidence of Zipoli's presence in Seville has yet been discovered. On 5 April 1717, the group of 54 Jesuits embarked from Cádiz (Spain) for Buenos Aires. In the voyage's "document of embarkation" is found the only physical description of the composer: "Domenico Zipoli, of medium build, two moles on the left cheek."[18]

Before closing the European portion of Zipoli's life, two additional compositions discovered in Europe must be mentioned: the cantata Dell'offese a vendicarmi and the Sonata for violin and basso continuo in A major.[19] Interestingly, Professor Lange has suggested that Maria Teresa Strozzi might have been the librettist of the cantata.[20] Professor Stevenson questions whether an oratorio, I fiori di Maria a cinque voci, published in 1709 and uncharacteristically dedicated to an individual, the Princess Strozzi, could have been another, earlier work of Zipoli.[21] Although Zipoli left the European continent, his works continued to be popular there as attested by the multiple Walsh editions of the Sonate d'Intavolatura in England and the discoveries of Dell'offese a vendicarmi in Berlin and theSonata for violin in Dresden.

In July of 1717, the Jesuit expedition arrived at the mouth of the Río de la Plata. Their crossing of the Atlantic had been uneventful, but while in the estuary, they were met with a storm that caused significant damage to one of the ships and the loss of two crewmen. When the group finally disembarked in the New World, they spent two weeks

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17.José Manuel Peramás, Diario del destierro; J. Cardiel, Carta-relación al Padre Pedro de Calatayud, 1747; quoted in Guillermo Furlong, "Domenico Zipoli, Musico eximo en Europa y America," Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1955, 424.

18.Lange, "Storia," 215.

19. Both have been published in modern edition by Roberto Becheri for Zanibon: Domenico Zipoli, Sonata per violino e basso continuo, ed. by Roberto Becheri (Padova, Italy: G. Zanibon, 1985); Domenico Zipoli, Dell'offese a vendicarmi, ed. by Roberto Becheri (Padova, Italy: G. Zanibon, 1986).

20.Lange, "Storia," 210.

21.Stevenson, "Zipoli's Transit," 26.

resting in Buenos Aires amidst some fanfare and acclaim of their arrival. Zipoli and his colleagues then began the 400-mile journey from Buenos Aires to Córdoba by oxcart. Upon arrival in Córdoba, Zipoli was enrolled in the Colegio Maximo to complete the studies necessary to become a priest in the Jesuit order: 3 years of philosophy and 4 years of theology. In addition to these prescribed scholastic courses, Zipoli doubtless must have attained a language proficiency in Spanish, Guarany, and perhaps other Indian languages as well as his native Italian, and the religious and academic *lingua franca*, Latin. As if the workload of his studies was not enough, Zipoli was also organist, kapellmeister, and music teacher at the Jesuit Church in Córdoba.

With regard to Zipoli's musical output in the New World, scholarly opinion is still developing. Obviously, he had left Europe at the height of his creative abilities, and even though deeply involved in his studies, it is doubtful that he would have set aside composition altogether. In 1955, Professor Lange scrupulously examined the extant records of the Colegio Maximo[22] and he cautiously asserts that based on the lack of specific mention of Zipoli in these records, his South American output must have been small. However, since that time, the discoveries of Stevenson, Claro, Kennedy, and Lange himself have begun to shed a new light on the scope of Zipoli's Latin American compositions. It is clear that the Expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 had a devastating effect on the documentation about and the compositions of Zipoli, yet it was the demand for his work among royalty and the missions alike that saved his work from total extinction.[23]

Zipoli apparently completed his ecclesiastical studies in 1725 and was awaiting ordination when he died of tuberculosis on 2 January 1726 at the Jesuit estate of

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22.Francisco Curt Lange, "Consideraciones en torno a Domenico Zipoli", in La música eclesiástica en Córdoba durante la dominación hispánica. (Mendoza, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 1955), 43-46, 75-83.

23.Yapeyú was a musical focal point for the Jesuit Reductions which, according to Kennedy (personal communication, 07 January 1991) and Lange, "Storia," 223, served as a depository for musical compositions as well as being a musical instrument making center. Zipoli's works were dispersed to the north and west of Córdoba as the aforementioned discoveries have shown.

Catalina.[24] Father Furlong states:

> [...] it is certain that he finished his studies in 1725, and like the Roman Stephan Fabri, the Savoyan Luis Charles and the Andalucians Juan Francisco Valdvieso and Salvador Rubio, he could not receive the sacraments of ordination for lack of a bishop, since Don Alonso Pozo y Silva had gone to Chile. When his successor, the Bishop Sarrecolea y Olea arrived in Córdoba in the middle of 1726, Zipoli had already departed to eternity.[25]

Finally, what can be said of the physical and psychological attributes of this composer since no biographies have survived? The sources regarded as being the most accurate are those which came from his contemporaries. Perhaps the most moving tribute to the character of Zipoli was by the Jesuit historian Father Pedro Lozano:

> He was of totally peaceful character and manners, and therefore he was loved by God and man. His eyes always denoted a most chaste attitude: he hardly lifted them to observe the face of a man, much less that of a woman. With diverse forms of devotion, he honored his guardian angel and he believed that by means of this angel he obtained the piety that appeared in him as an innate gift. All his actions proved to be subordinate to the will of his superiors, he solicited their permission even for the most insignificant things. In speech, he referred solely to religious problems, and the companions who listened to him "hung from his lips." Consumed by a malignant illness, which afflicted him all year, he committed his soul to God placidly, as he was in this world.[26]

Father Furlong adds his assessment:

> The psychological and spiritual characteristics that Lozano gives us are few, but they are sufficient enough for us to form a complete portrait of

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24.Professor Lange argues that due to the nature of his disease, Zipoli probably never went to Santa Catalina (30 miles from Córdoba) and instead died in Córdoba itself. Compare Virginia Carreño, "Santa Catalina de Córdoba: La Estancia Jesuítica," chap. in Estancias y Estancieros, (Buenos Aires: Editorial y Libreria Goncourt,), 41.: "At the right side of this sort of palace, another entrance that could have belonged to a Mozartean set designer, although it does not mark the entrance to a garden with fountains and courtesan plots, rather to a small cemetery of the Fathers. Here, we find by reading a plaque placed on the wall not too long ago, rest the mortal remains of Domenico Zipoli, one of the greatest musicians that Italy produced in the first part of the 18th century and who composed a good part of his work in the America of the Jesuits."

25.Furlong, "Domenico Zipoli," 425.

26.Pedro Lozano, Litterae Annuae Provincae Paraquariensis 1720-1730, in the Staatsarchiv of Munich in Bavaria, Jesuits 267 (photocopy in the province of Argentina of the Society of Jesus) pamphlet 6; in Lange, "Storia", 220.

> him that corresponds to a modest and unaffected man, generous and humane, virtuous and pious, no less than excellent in the philosophic and theologic studies, and very distinguished and without second in the musical art.[27]

Zipoli's music and legacy lived on in Spanish America until the time of the expulsion in 1767; his work was still popular enough to be copied in 1784 (the date of the copy of the Mass in F Major). Although Zipoli received passing mentions in musical dictionaries for the next 150 years, his life became a confusing mystery and his music fell into obscurity. Then in the 1930s, the research begun by Furlong and Lange started a revival of interest in the composer and his compositions. Some 60 years later, the mystery is still unraveling and Zipoli's influence and stature among Baroque composers is beginning to be accurately evaluated.

Central to the understanding of the present musicological assessment are those works which have pioneered the thought of modern investigations. Recent works, too, are indicative of the ways in which experts perceive the life and works of the composer. The next section of this study will provide a review of some of the non-Spanish language works written about Zipoli in 20th century.

27.Furlong, "Domenico Zipoli," 427.

Literature Review of Non-Spanish Texts

The primary sources and accompanying literature about Zipoli are scarce. There are several reasons for this, not the least of which is the 300 years that have passed since his birth. Several facts have worked against an accumulation of materials by and about this man who chose the life of a humble brother in a frontier outpost instead of attaining further personal glory in Rome:

1. Multinationality - While many of Zipoli's contemporaries spent their entire lives within 100 miles of their home, Zipoli left his native Prato (Italy) in 1707. In the intervening years, Zipoli stayed in Florence, Naples, Rome, Seville (Spain), and Córdoba (Argentina). His compositions have been recently found in Chile[28] and Bolivia[29] and during colonial times, were requested by the Spanish Viceroy in Lima, Peru. Such travels would cause any attending material to be spread out among those locations. As a result, the small corpus of work spread over thousands of miles would be more likely to be lost, destroyed, or forgotten. Furthermore, any scholar wishing to examine works about the life of Zipoli must possess reading skills in Latin as well as most modern European languages.

2. Nature of his work - As he was approaching the height of his creative powers, Zipoli was appointed to the position as an organist of *Il Gesú*, the main Jesuit church in Rome. The *Gesú* organist was a prestigious position, but by the nature of his duties, Zipoli would have more often been at the console of the organ or directing the choir than

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28.Samuel Claro, "La música en las misiones Jesuitas de Moxos," Revista Musical Chilena 17 (1969): 22-30. Specifically, theTantum ergo and Letania.

29.Robert Murrell Stevenson, The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs (Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, 1959), 175-179. Specifically, the Mass in F major; and T[homas] Frank Kennedy, "Colonial Music from the Episcopal Archive of Concepción, Bolivia," Latin American Music Review 9 (Spring/Summer 1988): 10-17.

at a desk composing. Moreover, spontaneous improvisation at the keyboard was the hallmark of organists of the time rather than performing from written scores. As a result, much of Zipoli's best work may only have been heard once.

3. Expulsion of the Jesuits - In 1767, the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish colonial territories in the New World; in 1773, the Pope disbanded the Order altogether not only in territories of the New World, but all the pockets of Jesuit influence in Europe as well. From the point of view of bibliographic and musicological scholarship, this event probably contributed the most to Zipoli's unfortunate obscurity. Not only were the Society's lands and goods confiscated, but countless numbers of their meticulous records and other papers were destroyed in the process, thereby accounting for the lack of additional scores or first-hand accounts of Zipoli in South America, Rome, and Seville.

4. The state of Latin American bibliography - As several articles have pointed out[30], the climate, fauna, man made and natural disasters of South America have done their best to obliterate the surviving records of the Italian master. Moreover, the Latin American tradition of librarianship has been one of private collection rather than the assembly of large collections for public or academic use. Finally, if the quality of the materials used in contemporary Latin American imprints is any indication of those works that preceded them, it would be miraculous if the original works survived 50 years, let alone 250.

If the pervasive musical "borrowing" and misattribution of authorship common in the Baroque era are added to the above forces, it is remarkable that any musical or bibliographic record of Zipoli survives to this day. This scarcity is precisely why a close comparison of the extant materials, regardless of the language, is an important scholarly, bibliographic activity. Furthermore, Kennedy's recent discoveries of previously unknown works by Zipoli, places the investigations about this master at the forefront of

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30.Lange, "Liner notes."; Francisco Curt Lange, "Domenico Zipoli: Storia di una Riscoperta," 224; and Kennedy, "Colonial Music," 1.

modern musicological research.[31]

Since the focus of this study is on 20th century Spanish language works, this review of the non-Spanish works is not exhaustive; the intention of the literature review is to present some recognized, standard references and recent scholarly works. As a result, some mentions about Zipoli in non-Spanish musical dictionaries and encyclopedias have been purposely omitted.[32] The remainder of this section will discuss these sources in more detail.

Because no standard, general English-language encyclopedia has an article about Zipoli, music subject encyclopedias and dictionaries must be consulted as a first reference source. According to Blazek and Aversa, the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (Grove) and Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (MGG) are the two most authoritative encyclopedic sources in music.[33]

The eminent scholar of Latin American musicology, Robert Murrell Stevenson, wrote the article about Zipoli in the 1980 edition of Grove.[34] Although the article is not of the detail of his 1988 work, it is a concise summation of the life and art of Zipoli, with a complete (for that time) works list and a good, basic bibliography for scholarly research on Zipoli. It is interesting to note that the cantata, Mia belle Irene, listed by Stevenson in Zipoli's works list, is not mentioned in any publications of Zipoli's *Opera Omnia*

31.Kennedy, "Colonial Music," 5-10.

32.Brief mention of two popular musical dictionaries and encyclopedias which contain material about Zipoli and not cited in this work are: Nicolas Slonimsky, ed. Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians, 7th ed., (New York: Schirmer Books, 1984), s.v. "Domenico Zipoli."; Oscar Thompson and Bruce Bohle, eds. The International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians, 11th ed., (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1985), s.v. "Domenico Zipoli."

33.Ronald Blazek and Elizabeth Aversa, The Humanities: A Selective Guide to Information Sources, 3rd ed., (Englewood, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, 1988), 195-196.

34.Stanley Sadie, ed. New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 6th ed., (London: Macmillan, 1980), s.v. "Domenico Zipoli," by Robert Stevenson.

published since 1980.[35]

As a point of comparison, the reader is directed to the article about Zipoli from the fifth edition of Grove.[36] This article by Frank Walker, reflects the formative version of modern thought about Zipoli. It correctly states the place of his birth and death, identifies him as a Jesuit, and Zipoli's generally known works at the time. However, the author cites as fact Guido Pannain's invalid conclusion that some of the works in the Sonate d'Intavolatura were not by Zipoli. De Rubertis and later Tagliavini refute this notion claiming that the manuscripts that Pannain cited were not autographs, rather copies. Hence the attribution to Durante and Scarlatti were copyist's errors, since the style of the music is consistently Zipoli's throughout.[37]

Another standard musical reference is the Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (MGG). Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini's article on Zipoli is brief, but factually correct and represents the works list as it was known at the time.[38] He mentions a Messa concertante that had been inventoried by Giovanni Batissta Martini that is mentioned by Stevenson in Grove but not mentioned in the more recent works lists by Lange and Kennedy.[39] The complete translation of Tagliavini's article is included in Appendix A.

A more exhaustive investigation was done by Tagliavini as a preface to his edition of the Sonate d'Intavolatura.[40] Tagliavini is one of the first to discount the existence of

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35.Lange, "Storia," 224-225; and Kennedy, "Colonial Music", 10.

36.Eric Blom, ed., Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed., (London: Macmillan, 1954), s.v. "Domenico Zipoli" by Frank Walker.

37.Victor de Rubertis, "Dove e quando nacque e mori Domenico Zipoli," Rivista Musicale Italiana 54 (1951), 152-157; quoted in Guillermo Furlong, S.J., "Domenico Zipoli," 420; and Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, ed., "Preface" in Domenico Zipoli, Sonate d'Intavolatura per Oragano e Cimbalo, (Heidelberg: Willy Müller Süddeutscher Musikverlag, 1959), xxii-xxiii.

38.Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, (New York: Bärenreiter-Cassel, 1968), s.v. "Domenico Zipoli" by Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini.

39.Lange, "Storia," 224-225; and Kennedy, "Colonial Music," 10.

40.Tagliavini, "Preface," xxi-xxvii.

the alleged treatise by Zipoli, Principia seu Elementa ad bene pulsandum Organum et Cimbalum, stating that its title (and hence its existence) was due to an "inaccurate Latin translation of the title of the Sonate d'Intavolatura per Organo e Cimbalo.[41] He further recounts his finding of the G. B. Martini manuscripts, the location of documents regarding the "succession of music directors" [42]at the Florence Cathedral (Zipoli's early teachers), gives an historical bibliography of the Sonate d'Intavolatura, and provides some commentary on performance mechanics of the work. This edition continues to be the definitive modern edition of the Sonate d'Intavolatura.

The first thesis to appear about Zipoli was in November 1974 by Alfred E. Lemmon.[43] This work has a fine biographic survey and an extensive bibliography, but most of the work (pp. 19-85) is dedicated to an analysis of the music of Zipoli. Lemmon sought to answer why a promising musician like Zipoli would leave Italy to minister to the Indians in South America. Lemmon also published an excellent biographical article about Zipoli, synopsizing his earlier thesis and concentrating on the composer's Jesuit ties.[44]

In August of 1975 Susan E. Erickson-Bloch completed her dissertation, The Keyboard Music of Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726). Erickson-Bloch's dissertation begins with an enumeration of the pre-20th Century sources, discusses the scholarly polemics, and weaves in the biographic elements of the composer's life. Like Lemmon's thesis, Erickson-Bloch's focuses (pp. 30-248) on the music of Zipoli: the instruments, performance, scores, and Zipoli's place in the Italian musical history. Her work closes

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41.Ibid., xxi.

42.Ibid., xxii.

43.Alfred E[mmette] Lemmon, S.J., "The Sonate d'Intavolatura per Organo e Cimbalo of Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726)" (Masters thesis, Tulane University, 1974).

44.Alfred E. Lemmon, "Domenico Zipoli: Organist-composer-Jesuit missionary," Music: The AGO-RCCO Magazine 9 (March 1975): 30-31.

with an exhaustive bibliography covering not only Zipoli, but instrumentation, musical history and theory and other related topics. Erickson-Bloch followed her dissertation with an article covering the discovery of the Macerata (Italy) manuscript of the Sonate d'Intavolatura.[45] In this work, she details the textual, stylistic, and musicological differences between the Macerata manuscript and the Rome edition. She further notes the inclusion of sketches for additional *Versi* not found in the Rome edition.

The final relevant dissertation was completed in 1979 by John N. McGuckin: Music and Mission among the Jesuits in Argentina, 1585-1767.[46] Although this work does not concentrate on Zipoli alone, it does provide a condensed, but complete biography and musicological survey (pp. 167-194).

Francisco Curt Lange's article, "Domenico Zipoli: storia di una riscoperta" is perhaps the most detailed and exhaustive study available about Zipoli's person and his music. Professor Lange's over 50 years of careful research entitles him to question those "who treated the case of Zipoli in a romantic form."[47] He casts serious doubt on the assertions that Zipoli was the organist and kapellmeister at *Il Gesù*, provides a great deal of background data on Zipoli's Roman and Córdoban stays, and presents one of the only physical and psychological descriptions of the composer. Lange concludes the work with a discussion of Erickson-Bloch's dissertation and the Macerata manuscript and the known *Opera Omnia* of 1985. His "essential bibliography" and notes provide a wealth of sources.

Robert M. Stevenson's "Zipoli's Transit through Dictionaries : A Tercentary Remembrance" is an excellent summary of Zipoli scholarship. It provides a detailed

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45.Susan Elizabeth Erickson-Bloch, "A New Source for Domencio Zipoli's *Sonate d'Intavolatura*," Current Musicology 29 : 70-77.

46.John N[ewell] McGuckin, "Music and Mission among the Jesuits in Argentina, 1585-1767," (Ph.D. diss., Southwest Baptist Theological Seminary, 1979).

47.Lange, "Storia," 211.

bibliographic account of the treatment of Zipoli in musical dictionaries, introduces additional biographic information, gives a musicological discussion of the Sonate d'Intavolatura and the Mass in F Major, reproduces some pertinent documentation, and offers a comprehensive bibliography. A working edition of the Mass in F Major is attached to the article.

Major new musical findings were reported in T. Frank Kennedy's article, "Colonial Music from the Episcopal Archive of Concepción, Bolivia". Here Kennedy gives a brief history of music in the Society of Jesus, describes the physical conditions of the manuscripts found at Concepción, details some of the works by European composers, and lists problems in categorizing the manuscripts. Kennedy also provides an excellent annotated bibliography with his musicological study. Clearly, this article introduces exciting new material that will increase the understanding and appreciation of Zipoli's music.

As important and informative as these works are, they are not essentially bibliographic in nature nor is their purpose to evaluate the Spanish works that they cite. In the next section, the bibliographic essay will detail the nature and contents of the 20th century Spanish language materials.

Bibliographic Essay

Introduction

In this section Spanish-language works about Domenico Zipoli from the 20th century[48] will be analyzed in the form of a bibliographic essay with the purpose of pointing out the document's bibliographic contribution to Zipoli scholarship. Each work will be categorized by type of work, i.e., article in an encyclopedia, journal article, and then evaluated within that category in terms of completeness and accuracy of the information presented based on information known at the time of publication. A notation will be made whether the work contains a bibliography and how comprehensive it is; these bibliographies will provide the input for the bibliometric analysis (citation analysis) in the final section of this study.

Selection

Since the materials considered in this study are non-English and were published outside the United States, standard indexes and databases had limited value in locating relevant literature. Although RILM and Music Index were consulted early in the collection process, neither produced any citations to "new" articles. As a result, the collection of documents was grown in the fashion described below.

The basis for beginning the selection and accumulation of items for this study was Stevenson's article in Grove. Each Spanish source mentioned was selected for acquisition through interlibrary loan or selection from the collection of the Ohio State University. Bibliographies in subsequent sources provided further citations which were also acquired locally or through interlibrary loan. Some suggestions were recommended through correspondence with scholars working in the field.

48.The actual date range of these publications are from 1933 (the first edition of Furlong's Los Jesuitas y la cultura rioplatense) to 1987.

The OCLC system provided verification of those items (primarily journals) which were available in library collections in the United States. Unfortunately, the journal La Silurante Musicale, in which several Spanish-language works by Victor de Rubertis appeared, was not listed in any library collections in the United States.[49] Every attempt has been made to be as exhaustive as possible in the acquisition of Spanish-language materials for this essay.

There are compelling reasons to render an English translation. First, it would be impossible to do the bibliographic essay at all without reading the text. Since translation occurred during the reading process, recording the translation in a machine-readable form was a natural outgrowth. Next, a machine-readable version of this information could serve as a foundation for a reference database about Zipoli and his works that could be disseminated to interested scholars. Finally, the translation and recording process serves as a means of preserving these relatively obscure and difficult to obtain works. Such a collection of documents in English could widen the appreciation of Zipoli's life and music among North American scholars and music *aficionados*.

The reference works for the Spanish to English translations were the University of Chicago Spanish Dictionary and the Collins Spanish Dictionary.[50] The translations were then reviewed for grammatical correctness and subsequently modified to reflect those changes. The texts were read a third time for (English) readability and revised to reflect contemporary, idiomatic English. Wherever possible, the author's stylistic tendencies are retained in the translation as long as the reader's understanding was unaffected..cp13

49.Victor de Rubertis, "La Patria y la Fecha de Nacimiento de Domenico Zipoli," La Silurante Musicale X 53 (May 1946); Victor de Rubertis, "Córdoba honra a Manueal de Falla y olvida Domenico Zipoli," La Silurante Musicale X 67 (April 1951); Victor de Rubertis, "Adolfo Salazar y sus 'dos' Zipoli," La Silurante Musicale XX 70 (November 1952); Victor de Rubertis, "Ignorancia y Presuntosidad en una Conferencia sobre Zipoli," La Silurante Musicale XX 74 (November 1954).

50.D. Lincoln Canfield, ed., University of Chicago Spanish Dictionary, 4th ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Colin Smith, ed., Collins Spanish Dictionary, 2d ed., (London: Collins, 1988).

In all, 26 works were collected and translated; these works are included in their entirety in Appendix B. The materials have been grouped into categories according to type of work:

General Encyclopedia:	1
Dictionaries and Encyclopedias of Music:	9
Histories (Jesuits, General):	7
Journal Articles:	7
Monographs	2

In the following sections, the works will be presented in chronological order, each evaluated on such items as factual correctness, new information presented, and extensiveness of the bibliography, and then compared with others in the group on similar factors.

General Encyclopedia

The only article about Zipoli that appeared in available Spanish language general encyclopedias (including those published in Argentina) was that in Espasa.[51] Although Espasa must be recognized for having any information about Zipoli at all, the article reflects the 19th century thought, i.e., born in Nola in 1675 with an unknown date and place of death. Clearly, Espasa could not have anticipated the scholarly revolution that was to begin with Furlong's work three years later.[52]

51.Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana, (Madrid: Bilboa, 1930), s.v. "Domingo Zipoli."

52.Guillermo Furlong, S. J., Los Jesuitas y la Cultura Rioplatense (Montevideo, Uruguay: s. n., 1933), 80 ff.; Guillermo Furlong, S. J., Los Jesuitas y la Cultura Rioplatense, 2d ed., (Buenos Aires: s. n., 1945), 161 ff.; Guillermo Furlong, S. J., Los Jesuitas y la Cultura Rioplatense, 3rd ed., (Buenos Aires: Universidad del Salvador, 1984), 129.

Dictionaries and Encyclopedias of Music

The first and most extensive encyclopedic entry in a Spanish-language music encyclopedia was by the prolific Jesuit scholar, Guillermo Furlong [Cardiff], S. J.[53] Father Furlong presents some of his findings from additional original sources, discusses the Sonate d'Intavolatura, and comments on the ground-breaking publication of Lauro Ayestarán[54]. Furlong is one of the first to point out Zipoli's importance in the developmental history of music:

> [...] in Zipoli this transition between counterpoint and the simple dialog form begins working. This means that in Zipoli one clearly catches a glimpse of the transcendental passage from the horizontal writing (counterpoint) to the vertical (harmony).[55]

Furlong also introduces the accounts of Zipoli's contemporary, Pedro Lozano, and the memoirs of Jesuits missionaries in the Paraguay reductions, Fathers Peramás,[56] Oliver, Herran, and Rillo. These primary and secondary sources are the only witnesses to the South American portion of Zipoli's life and continue to be cited in subsequent scholarly works. No bibliography *per se* is attached to this work although its sources are documented in the extensive endnotes characteristic of Furlong's writing.

Unfortunately, this article upholds the existence of Zipoli's alleged theoretical work, Pricipia seu Elementa ad bene pulsandum Organum et Cimbalum and mistakenly

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53.Guillermo Furlong, S. J., "El eximo organista Domenico Zipoli: 1688-1726," chap. in Musicos Argentinos durante la dominacíon Hispanica (Buenos Aires: Editorial Huarpers, S. A., 1944) 114-121, 122.

54.Lauro Ayestarán, "El gran compositor y organista romano del 1700 en el Río de la Plata," Revista Histórica 35, no. 37 (August 1941): 49-75. This work was unavailable for inclusion in this collection. However, Ayestarán himself acknowledges the weakness of the publication; Professor Lange in "Storia" calls the publication "hasty." The amplified second version published in 1962 is included instead.

55.Furlong, "El eximo organista," 118-119.

56.Lange, "Storia," footnote 3. Professor Lange states that Ayestarán's 1941 work was "principally based" on the information found in the writings of Father J. N. Peramás. Consequently, Father Furlong is probably reusing this source.

attributes Zipoli's death to accidental causes: "a fall from a horse, sunstroke, etc."[57] These factual errors aside, Furlong's work must be appreciated for what it is, namely one of the first modern biographical images of Zipoli and the vehicle that introduces the primary and secondary South American sources to musicological and bibliographic scholarship.

José Subria helps to keep the memory of Zipoli alive in Europe in a musical history published in Spain.[58] In this brief mention of Zipoli, Subria points out the errors of earlier scholarship regarding the birthplace and birthdate of Zipoli. He also correctly identifies Zipoli as a Jesuit, as organist at the Jesuit Church in Rome, and as organist at the Cathedral of Córdoba (Argentina). Subria also mentions the Zipoli's stylistic ties to Frescobaldi and his excursions into the dialog form. Subria's only factual error was in recounting that 80 missionaries left Europe for Paraguay; according to Professor Lange's account, 54 Jesuits departed from Cadiz on 3 ships.[59] No bibliography is attached to this article; Subria mentions Ayestarán's investigation without citing any article.

Following Subria's work is a standard, Spanish-language musical dictionary, Diccionario de la música labor.[60] This article takes advantage of de Rubertis' discovery of Zipoli's baptismal certificate to conclusively state that Zipoli was born in Prato, instead of Naples; it also correctly states the date and place of Zipoli's death. The Sonate d'Intavolatura is discussed in a recapitulation of Ayestarán's (1941) assessment. Zipoli's journey to South America is correctly conveyed, as is his importance to colonial music.

57.Furlong, "El eximo organista," 116.

58.José Subria, ed., Historia de :a música española e hispanoamericana (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1953), s.v. Domenico Zipoli.

59.Lange, "Storia," 215. Professor Lange's facts about Zipoli's life are given prefence in this study due to his continuing, exhaustive examination of primary sources. Moreover, Lange's acceptance of a statement as fact is based on the most careful consideration of the pertinent documentation.

60.Peña, et. al., eds., Diccionario de la música labor (Barcelona: s.n., 1954), s.v. "Domenico Zipoli.

A works list and a brief (3 entries) bibliography are appended to the article.

However, the Diccionario does make several factual errors, namely assuming that Zipoli's formative musical education was Roman,[61] (it was likely by Florentine musicians at the Prato Cathedral), that Zipoli settled in Rome "after 1696" (it was c. 1709), and that he wrote the theoretical treatise Pricipia seu Elementa ... Although correctly stating his date and place of death, this article does not mention how Zipoli died. Again, this article should not be dismissed because of its errors or omissions, most of which have not been elucidated until recently. It is an important building block in the foundation of our contemporary understanding.

Vicente Gesualdo follows with an extended entry about Zipoli in his Historia de la Música en la Argentina.[62] Gesualdo's treatment of Zipoli is the most extensive Spanish-language treatment since Ayestarán and Furlong in the early 1940s, incorporating new information about Zipoli's early life and musical instruction. He also incorporates the work of Victor de Rubertis and Carlos Leonhardt as he presents considerable detail of Zipoli's activity in Argentina. This article is the first of those represented in this study that mentions Stevenson's discovery of the Mass in F Major along with the "30 motets of Brother Zipoli" mentioned in the catalog of the reduction at San Ignacio.[63] Gesualdo is also the first to suggest that Zipoli might have written operas while in South America.[64] Finally, Gesualdo mentions the place of Zipoli's death and internment as Santa Catalina and proposes that Zipoli was buried in a small cemetery near the church. A timeline of the events in the composer's life is attached to the article as are fairly extensive

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61.Lange, "Storia," 207. It was likely that there was significant Florentine influence in this early training, although it took place at the Prato Cathedral, according to Professor Lange.

62.Vicente Gesualdo, Historia de la Música en la Argentina (Buenos Aires: Editorial Beta S.R.I., 1961), s.v., "Domenico Zipoli."

63.Gesualdo, Historia, 53.

64.Father Furlong does not dismiss this possibility in his work, "Domenico Zipoli," 428.

bibliographic notes listing important sources for the article.

Gesualdo makes minor factual errors about the early musical education of Zipoli, intimating that Casini was his first teacher without mentioning that Zipoli might have received some instruction at Prato. Zipoli's cause of death is not conclusively stated although Gesualdo attributes it to an "epidemic" at Santa Catalina.[65] Gesualdo's work is an excellent assimilation of the discoveries that took place in both Europe and South America and is one of the most complete modern treatments of Zipoli's life in this collection.

Lazaro Flury merely mentions Zipoli in his Argentine musical history and alludes to one of Father Lozano's accounts of Zipoli's ability to attract crowds to the religious ceremonies.[66] Interestingly, Flury states that Zipoli "mastered other instruments: violin, bassoon, flute."[67] Although it is plausible that Zipoli mastered several instruments, this is the only work in the collection that states that Zipoli himself was an instrumentalist as well as a keyboardist. Flury's work has no bibliography or footnotes.

The next chronological entry in this category is by Rodolfo Arizaga.[68] For an encyclopedic entry so near the present, this article is fraught with errors. First, Arizaga states that Zipoli died in 1725 when it was actually 2 January 1726. The statement that Zipoli was kapellmeister at *Il Gesù* can be forgiven since Professor Lange did not show otherwise until 1985.[69] However, the assertion that Zipoli did not complete his

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65.Gesualdo, Historia, 58.

66.Lazaro Flury, Historia de la Música Argentina (Santa Fe, Argentina: Ediciones Colmenga, 1967), 34-35.

67.Flury, Historia, 34.

68.Rodolfo Arizaga, Enciclopedia de la música argentina (Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1971), s.v., "Domenico Zipoli."

69.Lange, "Storia," 212.

ecclesiastical studies is untrue since Zipoli was awaiting ordination when he died.[70] Ordination could only have been conferred upon completing the required course of study. Furthermore, Arizaga maintains that Zipoli's "premature death" was caused by an accident, which has generally been discounted by modern scholars.[71] Although the works list is relatively complete based on the extant works of the time, Arizaga still includes the theoretical work Principia ... among Zipoli's authentic output. Finally, he mentions for the first time in this category the "oral tradition" that a Credo by Zipoli is still sung by nuns in the convent Santa Catalina de Córdoba. The mention of the performance of this work first appeared as a footnote by Professor Lange to Pedro Grenón's 1951 work.[72] Although this work does reflect some of the modern knowledge about Zipoli, the number of errors and misstatements suggests incomplete research. No footnotes or bibliography are included with this work.

The next offering comes from Roberto Garcia Morillo.[73] In one paragraph, he attempts to cover the contribution of the European missionaries to the colonial music of Argentina. In the closing lines of this paragraph, Garcia Morillo mentions Zipoli's "outstanding contribution" to Argentine colonial music, namely the F Major Mass and "various chamber music creations." He cites only the work of Lauro Ayestarán in a textual reference; no bibliography accompanies this piece. Garcia Morillo mistakenly calls Zipoli a Neapolitan, probably based on earlier, available works since Ayestarán correctly states that Zipoli was a Pratense.[74]

70.Furlong, "Domenico Zipoli," 424-425.

71.Lange, "Storia," 218; Sadie, Grove, s.v., "Domenico Zipoli."

72.See footnote 12 in Pedro Grenón, "Nuestra Primera Musica Instrumental," Revista de Estudios Musicales, 1951, vol. 2, no. 5-6. pp. 48-53, 77-78.

73.Roberto Garcia Morillo, Estudios sobre Música Argentina (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Culturales Argentinas, 1984), 18-19.

74.Ayestarán, Domenico Zipoli, 12.

The Bolivian author, Atiliano Auza Leon, mentions Zipoli in his book covering the development of music in Bolivia.[75] Auza Leon concentrates on Zipoli's long-distance influence on Bolivian music based on the discoveries of copies of Zipoli's work in Sucre and San Ignacio de Moxos. He does correctly state the place of birth and the place and date of Zipoli's death although he mistakenly lists the birth date as 11 October 1688. Auza Leon also mentions an Exaudinos by Zipoli that does not appear in any published works lists. In the text, he erroneously attributes a portion of one of Father Peramás accounts of the widespread popularity of Zipoli's music to Father Lozano;[76] no bibliography is offered for this portion of the text. The interesting aspect of this work is that Zipoli is counted among Bolivia's foremost colonial composers. Indeed, his influence was felt throughout all of colonial South America.

The most recent addition to this category was the work of Waldemar Axel Roldan.[77] Axel Roldan correctly covers the major events of Zipoli's life and includes an acceptable works list based on the list presented by Professor Lange.[78] He believes that Zipoli composed more works in South America than have been discovered, but cautions the reader that no documentation has yet surfaced to affirm this belief. Axel Roldan makes some minor factual errors when he says that Zipoli's first musical instruction was

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75.Atiliano Auza Leon, Historia de la música boliviana (Cochabama, Bolivia: Los Amigos de Libro, 1985), 69-70.

76.José Manuel Peramás, Annus patiens seu ephemerides quibus continetur iter annum iesuitarum paraguariorum Corduba Tucumaniae profectorum. ARSI, Paraq. 21, folio 65; quoted in Furlong, "Domenico Zipoli," 425.

77.Waldemar Axel Roldan, Música colonial en la Argentina (Buenos Aires: Libreria "El Ateneo" Editorial, 1987), s.v., "Domenico Zipoli."

78.Lange, "Storia," 224-225.

from the kappelmeister of the Cathedral of Florence[79] and that the Mass in F Major was for four voices (as stated on the copy). Ayestarán has argued that the Mass could have been complete as discovered[80]. Axel Roldan provides brief bibliographic notes referring to 2 original sources and to Ayestarán[81] and Lange.[82] Axel Roldan's work is the most up to date and detailed musical encyclopedia account of the life of Zipoli. Unfortunately, he spends little time analyzing Zipoli's music except to talk about the bibliographic nature of extant works.

Compared against the entries in Grove, most of these Spanish-language encyclopedia/dictionary works fall short on reporting factual information and providing bibliographic references for further study. Father Furlong's article is perhaps the best in this group in terms of original scholarly research that added to the corpus of knowledge about Zipoli. Furlong also discusses the Sonate d'Intavolatura in some detail assimilating the earlier work of Ayestarán. Although this work is dated and suffers from the minor factual errors, it must be considered as essential background piece. Axel Roldan's article is the best recent entry in this category. It is a good assimilation of the works of Ayestarán and Lange as well as including some primary sources. The minor factual errors aside, Axel Roldan's failure to discuss the nature of the music of Zipoli that is the major drawback to an otherwise fine article. In conclusion, these articles are generally good, albeit sometimes dated, introductions to the life of Zipoli without going into extensive background or musicological detail.

79.See n. 62, above. The mistaken assumption that Zipoli's first musical training came from the kapellmeister at the Cathedral of Florence can be attributed to Padre Martini's entry about Zipoli in his encyclopedia. G. B. Martini, Dizionario biografico-musicale, Ms, vol. 2, 557, Convento di San Francesco in Bologna; quoted in Lange, "Storia," 205

80.Ayestarán, Domenico Zipoli, 14.

81.Ayestarán, Domenico Zipoli.

82.Lange, "Storia."

Histories: General and Jesuit

Items in this category consist primarily of historical works that covered colonial Argentina or the Jesuits or were catalogs of the Jesuits in the Province of Paraguay. The works by Father Furlong are from editions other than the first, and as a result might not be in appropriate chronological order. Since Furlong could have modified incorrect data in subsequent editions, the reports in multiple edition works will be assessed according to the information known about Zipoli at the time of the edition's publication.

The initial work in this section is an entry in an Argentine biographical dictionary by Enrique Udanondo.[83] This dictionary entry was probably based on the findings of Furlong and Ayestarán and is essentially factual in content: birth and death dates are correct, as is the brief assessment of his music. However, Udanondo incorrectly states that Zipoli went to Rome at age 8 [84] and that Zipoli arrived in Buenos Aires in June of 1717 when in fact it was July of that year.[85] No bibliography or footnotes accompany this entry. For a work written this early in the development of the modern picture of Zipoli, it is remarkably correct and detailed, especially in a general dictionary of biography.

As a result of the multiple editions of Father Furlong's works[86], the next historical entry is that of Francisco Curt Lange.[87] Although the title of the pamphlet (La música argentina...) would suggest that it dealt primarily with music, the chapter

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83.Enrique Udanondo, Diccionario biográfico colonial argentino (Buenos Aires: Editorial Huarpes, 1945), s.v. "Domingo Zipoli."

84.According to the most recent scholarship, Zipoli probably went to Rome in 1709 or 1710 which would have made him 20 or 21. Udanondo most likely got this incorrect information from Ayestarán's 1941 pamphlet. See Ayestarán, Domenico Zipoli, 10.

85.Furlong, "Domenico Zipoli," 424; Lange, "Storia," 216.

86.I.e., Los Jesuitas y la cultura rioplatense first appeared in 1933. The (third) edition considered in this study was released in 1984.

87.Francisco Curt Lange, "Consideraciones."

("Consideraciones en torno a Domenico Zipoli", i.e., Considerations about Domenico Zipoli) actually had more to do with an analysis of the (financial) account books of the Jesuits with the intention of gleaning information about their lifestyles, musical activity, and especially about the productivity of Zipoli.

In Professor Lange's exhaustive research, he examined two of the remaining account books of the Jesuits from the Novitiate in Córdoba, searching for citations about Zipoli in particular or expenditures that could have been assigned to an active composer. Lange cites the fact that the Jesuits kept meticulous records and produces several, specific examples that show incredible attention to detail. However, the lack of any mention about Zipoli by name, leads Professor Lange to conclude:

> Little by little I have been able to show, although with insufficient documentation, that Córdoba was never a musical center and that Domenico Zipoli, born in Prato, Tuscany, in 1688 and died in Córdoba at the beginning of 1726, could not have held, for various reasons which will be explained in time, a position of organist and teacher, and even less of creator, as some apologists have supposed.[88]

Professor Lange continues:

> I also believe that the quality of the interpreters of the music in the Jesuit churches has been given an exaggerated appraisal by many fathers, including the historians who did not possess the necessary musical cultivation for a fair appreciation and they mentioned such activities apologetically.[89]

Lange states that Zipoli would have probably been afflicted by a "culture shock" when he was transplanted from Rome to the "wilderness" outpost of Córdoba. As such, Lange goes further to suggest that Zipoli's devotion to the priestly vocation would have led him to withdraw into his "studies, observances, and meditations"[90] and that the "poverty" of the musical environment of Córdoba would have frustrated any resurgent creative

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88.Ibid., 45.

89.Ibid., 75.

90.Ibid., 76.

activity. Lange's cautious scholarship has contributed greatly to an authoritative, contemporary portrait of Zipoli, which is refined in Lange's later works.[91] No footnotes to secondary texts follow this work since it is original research.

However, this withdrawn and monastic portrait of Zipoli cannot be accepted without question. As Erickson-Bloch asserts, the hasty departure of the Jesuits and the incomplete state of the accompanying documentation "lessens the value of any conclusions made from examining these records."[92] Indeed, subsequent discoveries of Zipoli's music in South America have caused Lange to retreat somewhat from his earlier "hard line" regarding Zipoli's musical activity and lends credence to Erickson-Bloch's statement.

Three of Guillermo Furlong's works are the next in this category. As mentioned earlier, the strict chronology of these works is disrupted by editions other than the first; it will be noted where this reordering has taken place. Father Furlong was an incredibly prolific historian who wrote on nearly every aspect of Spanish American colonial history and the Jesuit heritage during this time period. Unfortunately, due to the sheer volume of the work that he produced, Furlong's details can be flawed.[93] But, it is due to Furlong's tireless work that the modern historical portrait of Zipoli has emerged.

Of those works of Furlong considered in this study, the first to appear was a work that dealt with the Jesuit missionary work in South America in general and among the Guarany Indians in the Paraguay Reductions in particular.[94] Zipoli is mentioned only briefly in this work, once in the list of notable expatriates who made the journey to

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91.Specifically, the liner notes to the recording of the Mass in F Major in 1975 and "Storia di una riscoperta" in 1985.

92.Erickson-Bloch, The Keyboard Music of Domenico Zipoli, 28.

93.Professor Lange warns us often about Father Furlong's mistaken hypotheses, but nevertheless acknowledges the debt that musical scholarship owes him.

94.Guillermo Furlong, Misiones y sus pueblos de guaranies (Buenos Aires: s.n., 1962), 324, 488.

Buenos Aires in 1717 and later to mention Zipoli's "musical genius" and his "ardent desire to work among the Guaranies."[95] No footnotes to the sources of this information are made at this point in the text.

Next, Father Furlong mentions Zipoli in a panoramic overview of colonial social and cultural history.[96] In a few short lines, Father Furlong declares that Zipoli was "not inferior to Manuel de Falla" and that he was an "Orfeus to the Córdobans."[97] As before, no footnotes or bibliographic notes are made in the text to direct the reader to Father Furlong's sources. However, it is clear from these brief excerpts of the high esteem that Furlong had for Zipoli.

Furlong's last work mentioned in this category was actually the first that he published due to multiple editions of the work. [98] The paragraphs from this work are the first notice about Zipoli that began to form the modern scholarly image of the composer: it was this work that first provided proof that the talented Italian musician and the humble Jesuit brother in Argentina were the same person by citing the work of Peramás for documentation.[99] He further refers to the Cartas Annuas as an account of the musical abilities of Zipoli and the date of his death in 1726. Father Furlong states that "Zipoli spent the last years of his life in Córdoba."[100] It is unclear from this statement whether Furlong meant that Zipoli died in Córdoba or whether he simply spent the

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95.Furlong, Misiones, 488.

96.Guillermo Furlong, Historia social, y cultural del Rio de la Plata 1536-1810: el trasplante social (Buenos Aires: Tipografica Editorial Argentina, 1969), 139.

97.Furlong, Historia, 139.

98.Guillermo Furlong, Los Jesuitas, 129. This text does not vary from that which appears in the first edition (1933) of this work - despite the passage of 51 years and many new findings about Zipoli's music and person.

99.José N. Peramás, De vita et moribus sex sacerdotum, 294; quoted in Furlong, Los Jesuitas, 129.

100.Furlong, Los Jesuitas, 129.

remaining years of his working life there. If it is the former, then it is more congruent with Professor Lange's belief that Zipoli died in Córdoba, but with would differ from Father Furlong's later assertion that Zipoli died at Santa Catalina.[101] Father Furlong did not rescind the "legend" that Zipoli wrote a theoretical treatise on organ and *harpsichord* playing (Principia seu Elementa ad bene pulsandum Organum et Cimbalum).[102] By the time of this third edition of Los Jesuitas, this work had been dismissed as non-existent by most scholars.[103]

Aside from these errors, the research on Zipoli begun for Los Jesuitas is the cornerstone on which subsequent findings by Lange, Furlong, Stevenson, Claro, Grenón, and others is based. The citations to Peramás and Lozano given here for the first time continue to be mainstays in the scholarly literature to the present time.

The last two entries in this category are from the catalogs of the Jesuit archivist, Hugo Storni.[104] Both of these works simply recount the main dates in the life of Zipoli, namely: birth, entry into the Province of Paraguay, arrival in Buenos Aires, and death. What is important about the work of Storni are the copious references to Jesuit archives which provide documentary proof of the validity of these dates.

Lange's work is without doubt the most thought provoking and extensive piece in the "Histories" category. It also represents the most exhaustive work on Zipoli in particular. However, for sheer volume of research and contribution to modern musicological scholarship, Furlong's notice about Zipoli in Los Jesuitas is the perhaps the

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101.Lange, "Storia" 219,; Furlong, "Domenico Zipoli," 426; Furlong, "El eximo organista", 116.

102.It is interesting that Father Furlong's translation of the title of this treatise is given as Principles or notions for playing the organ and the trumpet with skill!

103.Tagliavini, "Preface," see n. 37, above.

104.Hugo Storni, Jesuitas Italianos en el Rio de la Plata (Antigua Provincia del Paraguay 1585-1768) (Rome: Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1979), 4, 6, 48-49; Hugo Storni, Catalogo de los Jesuitas de la Provincia del Paraguay (Cuenca del Plata) 1585-1768 (Rome: Institutum Historicum S. I., 1980), 314.

most important. Nor can Storni's archival work be underestimated. It is apparent in the articles in this section that the poles of the "romantics" and the "conservatives" of Zipoli scholarship are beginning to form.[105] However, it is one of the works in the next section against which scholars from both of these groups took critical aim in the early years.

Journal Articles

Works in this group consist of journal articles dedicated to Zipoli's life and music with dates ranging from 1946 to 1984. In these articles, the current findings are presented and Zipoli polemics explored and represent some of the most exhaustive research and well-documented accounts available to the modern scholar. Although the facts are not always correct by modern standards, these works are important milestones of its evolution.

The first article to appear is the now famous rebuttal by the Spanish musicologist Adolfo Salazar of Ayestarán's 1941 pamphlet, "Domenico Zipoli, el gran compositor y organista romano del 1700 in el Río de la Plata."[106] By proposing the "two Zipolis" (one Florentine, one Neapolitan) hypothesis, Salazar opened himself up to continual scholarly ridicule for the next 40 years. One of Salazar's defenses of his "two Zipolis" hypothesis was the fact that the name Zipoli is "common in Italy, particularly in the south and the Christian name Domenico is also."[107] While this might be true, Victor de Rubertis discovery of Zipoli's baptismal certificate in 1941 clearly tied the Zipoli who died in Argentina to the one born in Prato in 1688.

Rather than embracing the new discoveries of Furlong and Ayestarán, Salazar

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105.I.e., Ayestarán and Furlong on the romantic side which allegedly ascribed too much influence and output to Zipoli and Professor Lange on the conservative side which was considerably more cautious in its opinion.

106.Adolfo Salazar, "El caso de Domenico Zipoli." Nuestra Musica 1 (May 1946): 80-83.

107.Ibid., 82.

tries to reconcile the mistaken notions about Zipoli's birth date (1675) and birthplace (Nola) which were proposed by 19th and early 20th century scholars. Although he had Lozano's reports in the Cartas Annuas at his disposal, Salazar questions the ties made from the Tuscan Zipoli to the Sonate d'Intavolatura since no mention is made of that work by name. Furthermore, Salazar claims that although his organ playing was "notable" the Tuscan Zipoli's career in America was not as brilliant as one could have expected if he had been the author of the Sonata d'Intavolatura.[108] Although Salazar knew that Zipoli came to America to continue his studies, it apparently did not occur to him that the scholastic activity could have temporarily reduced the productivity of even a brilliant musician. Nor does Salazar mention anywhere in the article the potential impact that the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 could have had on any remnants of the Tuscan's output in the New World.

In Salazar's defense, he certainly did not have access to the more recent discoveries such as the Mass in F Major. However, he did examine the same sources that Ayestarán and Furlong did and chose to interpret them more cautiously. Although Salazar's case is well footnoted, he chose to use inaccurate sources - from an historical perspective. However, due in part to Salazar's "two Zipolis" hypothesis, later scholars redoubled their efforts to prove that the Tuscan Zipoli actually made the journey to South America to minister to the natives.

The next article in this collection was written by another prolific musical scholar, Pedro Grenón, edited and annotated by Professor Lange.[109] Grenón's article is important, because "it roused the search of its information." Much of the information that Grenón gives about Zipoli's life is factually correct, but this article still suffers from much of the same misinformation that seems to be prevalent in the works produced in the

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108.Ibid., 3.

109.Pedro Grenón, "Nuestra primera música instumental." Revista de Estudios Musicales 2, no. 5-6 (1951): 48-53, 77-78.

late 1940s and early 1950s. For example, Grenón repeats some of the same errors that are described above: 1) Zipoli went to Rome in 1696; 2) Zipoli wrote a theoretical treatise on organ and harpsichord playing; 3) seventy-two missionaries accompanied Zipoli to the New World; 4) Zipoli died in December 1725. However, this article cites some of the important, primary sources that many later scholars would use in their investigations, namely the accounts of Lozano, Peramás, Rillo, and Oliver.[110]

Professor Lange adds a lengthy commentary in footnotes which accompany the article. He provides a brief, but enlightening bibliographic history of the investigation of Zipoli's case until 1950, concentrating primarily on Latin American sources. In addition, Lange cautions against the "high-sounding phrases and excessive eloquence" when reading the contemporary reports about Zipoli[111] and then proceeds with a critique of Ayestarán's 1941 pamphlet. Finally, Professor Lange gives a list of the published editions of the (known) works of Zipoli.

The scope of this article reaches beyond the contribution of Zipoli to colonial Latin American music. However, Grenón's coverage of Zipoli is concise and as factually correct as the sources of the time would permit. The article represents significant original research that was included in several subsequent investigations.

In 1955, Father Furlong published his most comprehensive and well-documented work about Zipoli.[112] Although some of Furlong's other works could be criticized for lack of accuracy, this article is a systematic work that begins with an extensive literature review then synthesizes the numerous sources into a coherent historical, musical, and

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110.Pedro Lozano, Cartas Annuas 1720-1730 Ms, no. 267, Jesuit Section, Reichsarchiv, München; José Manuel Peramás, De vita et moribus tredecim virorum paraguaycorum (Favienta, Italy: s.n., 1793); Lorenzo Rillo, Memorial de visita para el pueblo de Itapuá Ms, Society of Jesus, 1728, General Archive of the Nation, Buenos Aires; Jaime Oliver, Breve noticia de la numerosa y florida christiandad guaraní, Ms, folio 16, Archive of Loyola-Oña; all cited in Grenón, "Nuestra música."

111.Francisco Curt Lange, footnote 12 in Grenón, "Nuestra musica," 48-49.

112.Furlong, "Domenico Zipoli," 418-428.

psychological portrait of Zipoli written in cogent prose. He also points out the historical misconceptions about Zipoli and then indicates how and why this information is erroneous. This work cites a wealth of primary sources and includes their content, which recommends this work to the scholar as one of the definitive early sources for material about Zipoli. The notes that accompany the text are rich in citations to the most often cited earlier works about Zipoli.

Furlong has as many of the details of Zipoli's life correct as the discoveries at that time allowed. The only major flaw that Furlong perpetuates in this work is in regard to the non-existent treatise on playing the organ and harpsichord. Father Furlong is one of the first to mention Zipoli's influence on opera in Latin America. He cites the works of Antonio Monzón and Father José Sánchez Labrador which allude to that possibility.[113] This hypothesis has not been refuted in any subsequent scholarly articles although no operas *per se* by Zipoli have been discovered.

Following Robert Stevenson's discovery of Zipoli's Mass in F Major in 1959, the portraits of Zipoli proposed by Lange and Furlong would slowly begin to converge.[114] In 1969, Samuel Claro reported additional discoveries (made in 1966) of more of Zipoli's music in the Jesuit mission of San Jacinto to the Moxos people.[115] Basically, this article reports on the Jesuit missions among the Moxos and Chiquitos but it also discusses the findings of the previously unknown works by Zipoli, Letania and Tantum ergo. Claro gives a brief background of Zipoli's life and discusses the possibilities of cultural

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113.Ibid., 428.

114.As stated earlier, Professor Lange's view of Zipoli's activity in South America was a cautious one. He concentrated on the cultural differences between the two environments and the lack of mundane documentation about Zipoli to suggest that the composer withdrew from composing and devoted himself to his priestly vocation. On the other hand, Furlong presents the accounts of Zipoli's Jesuit contemporaries at face value, which would have had Zipoli continuing his composition and performance while attending to his studies at the same time. The discoveries of Stevenson, Claro, Lange, and Kennedy have done much to vindicate this opinion of Zipoli's American output.

115.Samuel Claro, "La música," 22-30.

interchange between La Plata and the high plateau of Bolivia, going so far as to suggest that the Tantum Ergo could have been commissioned for the missions of Moxos.[116] He proceeds to give a description of the music and a bibliographic description of the manuscripts in the catalog of the collection. In the footnotes to the section devoted to the works of Zipoli, Claro gives a short bibliography of some of the more important background works. Although the information about Zipoli presented in this article is not new or extensive, it is the reporting of the discoveries of Zipoli's works throughout South America that are important. As such, this article succeeds in presenting an interesting cultural perspective, a musical sketch, and a bibliographic account of the manuscripts.

Perhaps the most concise, accurate, and up-to-date Spanish-language account of Zipoli's life and music are the Francisco Curt Lange's liner notes to a sound recording of the Misa en Fa Mayor para Coro, Cuerdas y Bajo Continuo.[117] This work is an excellent summary of the evolution of the historical portrait of Zipoli and is an analysis of the faults of the earlier literature. For the first time among the works in this collection, Professor Lange expands on Zipoli's Italian formative years: his early training in Prato and Florence, the experiences with Scarlatti and Pasquini, his acceptance into the literary and artistic circles of Rome, his relationship with the Strozzi family, and the advent of Zipoli's "profound religious sentiments."[118] Although he would later retract this statement, Professor Lange places Zipoli as the organist of *Il Gesù*.[119] Lange goes on to mention the contemporary accounts of Zipoli, which "all ... agree in exalting the personality and the worth of the works of Zipoli."[120] Uncharacteristically, Lange does

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116.Claro, "La música," 24.

117.Lange, "Liner notes." There are no page numbers to this article. As a result subsequent references to it in this section will merely point out that the quoted text came from this work.

118.Ibid.

119.Lange, "Storia," 211-212.

120.Lange, "Liner notes."

not take the opportunity to refute the accounts of those he had earlier and would later call "Jesuit apologists."[121] Professor Lange details the recent South American discoveries, including his own finding of a mention of "9 motets" by Zipoli in the inventory of the missions of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Lange closes this article with a protracted musical and bibliographic description of the pieces that appears on the recording: Mass in F Major, Dell' offese a vendicarmi, and the Sonata for Violin and Continuo. No footnotes or bibliography accompanies this article.

In the next article of this section, Alfred E. Lemmon continues one of the themes of his thesis, namely, "Why would a musician with the ability of Zipoli choose the unknown region of South America?"[122] Lemmon explains that it is not his purpose to provide a biography because Lange and Furlong have admirably covered the topic in their works. Instead, he shows that Zipoli was not the only artist or musician who went to the Jesuit missions around the world and that music was an integral part of the Jesuit identity. He cites several modern scholarly works to document his claim and concludes that "in the area of modern day Argentina there was a high level of culture" and that Zipoli "decided to join the missionary movement to South America, to dedicate his musical talent to the greater glory of God."[123] Modest bibliographic notes to primarily modern sources accompany this work.

The final journal article is an overview of music in the Jesuit reductions by the prominent Jesuit scholar, Clement McNaspy.[124] He begins the article by giving the reader a perspective of how music fit into Jesuit life and specifically, its place in the

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121.Lange, "Consideraciones," 45; Lange, "Storia," 211.

122.Alfred E. Lemmon, "Domenico Zipoli: Algunos aspectos de su relación con la Argentina," Heterofonia: revista musical trimestral 14 (January-March 1981): 35-38.

123.Ibid., 38.

124.Clement McNaspy, "Estado musical de las reducciones," Floia Historica de Nordeste, (1984) 139-144.

reductions. McNaspy refutes Stevenson's[125] claim that Zipoli was one of "many" musicians "recruited" by the Jesuits for work in the missions. McNaspy's observes:

> Nor were they "recruited"; since among the (approximately) 14,000 Jesuits that offered themselves for the missions in Paraguay and the 1,000 or more Europeans that in effect came ... it is evident that no one was "recruited" and relatively few chosen, musicians or non-musicians. The missionary life was so difficult - physically and psychologically, that the standards for selection were sufficiently demanding and they left out, for a large part, the talented artist.[126]

McNaspy continues with the history of musical development in South America and notes the most important earlier contributors. He then details the contributions of another one of an important missionary musicians, Antonio Sepp (1655-1733), through whose influence and hard work Yapeyú became the great musical center of the reductions. The final portion of the article is devoted to the life and works of Zipoli in particular. In the brief and factually correct biography of Zipoli, McNaspy conclusively establishes that Zipoli was born on the 17th of October 1688. However, Father McNaspy, states that Zipoli was the "music director and organist" at *Il Gesù* - a fact that Professor Lange has questioned.[127] McNaspy finishes the article with commentary on the music of Zipoli, and mentions the resurgence of "worldwide interest" in Zipoli's music. A short bibliography of predominantly modern sources accompanies this article. Father McNaspy mentions some of the primary sources cited by other scholars, but does not give full citations to them.

These articles represent some of the most in-depth scholarship conducted about Zipoli and his music. Furlong's work is particularly good in this respect, based largely on primary sources uncovered by the author and elucidated for future generations of

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125.No source of this statement is cited in McNaspy's article. Lemmon makes a similar claim in his "Domenico Zipoli: Algunos aspectos de su relación con la Argentina," 38.

126.McNaspy, "Estado musical," 139-140. If this attribute of the physical and mental robustness of the selected missionaries is true, then it is counter to Professor Lange's supposition that Zipoli was of a "fragile physical condition." See Lange, "Storia," 221.

127.Lange, "Storia," 211-212.

scholars. The major criticism of Furlong's piece is that it is dated and does not reflect the findings after 1955. That fact should not disqualify this work from any bibliography of a scholarly work about Zipoli since it is one of those pivotal works that is the vanguard of new thinking about a subject.

The other outstanding article is Professor Lange's liner notes. In fact, the whole package of the sound recording and the liner notes is the most condensed essence of Zipoli yet available.[128] In his usual cautious and meticulous fashion, Professor Lange lifts the "dense veil" that surrounded Zipoli for over 250 years. He builds on his own earlier work, some of his more recent discoveries, and on the scholarship of others as he creates perhaps the best Spanish-language work that presents a contemporary picture of the artist and his music.

Finally, Salazar's article must be mentioned as one of the catalysts that spurred Zipoli scholars to new heights of investigative research. Clearly it was Salazar's rebuttal of Ayestarán's 1941 work that caused Ayestarán to rework the pamphlet to answer those criticisms and to offer the more complete, contemporary picture of Zipoli discussed in the next section.

Monographs

This section is devoted to two Spanish-language monographs devoted entirely to the life and music of Zipoli. Whether these are the only extant Spanish monographs about Zipoli is unknown; however, they are the only ones that have been found through the examination of bibliographies, indexes (e.g., Music Index), and online searches (e.g., RILM and Dissertation Abstracts). On one hand, it would be peculiar that the Latin American scholars had not produced additional monographs for an artist so integral to the

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128.In addition to Professor Lange's biography of Zipoli and commentary on the music, all of Zipoli's "other" published works discovered prior to 1988 are recorded on the disc. The Letania and Tantum Ergo discovered by Claro have not appeared in the United States in modern edition. Some of Kennedy's Concepcion discoveries have been produced in computerized manuscript form.

musical development of the continent. On the other, it would be typical of the neglect that Zipoli has historically received if these two works represented the Spanish monographic universe. A nation-by-nation investigation of the national bibliographies could produce more titles and is an area for future bibliographic research. Unfortunately, the lack of a pan-American bibliographic utility increases the amount of labor required to discover such works.

The two works are of quite different character. Lauro Ayestarán's work is a scholarly piece that recounts recent discoveries, gives a biography, and discusses the Sonate d'Intavolatura in some detail.[129] Pedro José Frias booklet is a work of historical fiction - memoirs attributed to Zipoli through the interpretive hand of the author.[130] Because of their genre differences, these works will not be compared at the end of this section.

Ayestarán's revision of his 1941 work has become part of the standard literature of Zipoli scholarship. It is divided into three parts, "The Case of Zipoli", "Life and Works", and "The Sonate d'Intavolaura per organo e cimbalo", each of which addresses a different facet of Zipoli scholarship: the dismissal of Salazar's "Case of Zipoli", a biography of the composer, and a bibliographic and musicological study of the Sonate.

In the chapter, "The Case of Zipoli", Ayestarán acknowledges the criticism leveled at his earlier work, but rejoinds with a four-part defense that "proves" that many of his earlier statements were correct. He cites Salazar's work as a starting point for the positive establishment that the Italian Zipoli and the American one were the same person. From this "negative" beginning, Ayestarán points to some "positive" discoveries that dismiss Salazar's point of view:

129.Lauro Ayestarán, Domenico Zipoli.

130.Pedro José Frias, Memorias del Músico Zipoli (Córdoba, Argentina: Ediciones Olocco, 1975), 2d ed.

1) Musicological analysis that tied Zipoli into the Roman-Florentine school;

2) de Rubertis' discovery of the baptismal certificate of Zipoli which conclusively established that Zipoli was born in Prato;

3) Tagliavini's discovery of Father Martini's dictionary which tied Zipoli's Pratenese roots to the Society of Jesus and described some of his early teachers;

4) Stevenson's discovery of the Mass in F Major which proved that Zipoli's creative talent was not dormant in South America.

The "Life and Works" of Zipoli are factually detailed with relatively few errors. It begins with an historical background of the city of Prato and places Zipoli among his contemporary composers. Unfortunately, Ayestarán incorrectly states Zipoli's date of birth as 16 October 1688.[131] When describing Zipoli's early musical training, Ayestarán adds the names of Piero Sammartini and Giovanni Maria Pagliardi, "masters in the Florentine Cathedral", as possible additions to the list of Zipoli's teachers. Also, in this section Ayestarán dismisses the existence of the Principia seu Elementa ad bene ausandum Organum et Cimbalum as a "defective translation of the title of his Sonate."[132] Ayestarán continues to maintain that Zipoli was the "head organist of the Church of the Jesuits in Rome," a fact Professor Lange has dismissed.[133] Ayestaráns's coverage of the transition and South American years of Zipoli cite the primary sources that he and Father Furlong had brought to light. He correctly states Zipoli's death date and claims that Zipoli died at Santa Catalina. Ayestarán closes this section with a works list (*sans* Claro's discoveries) including some bibliographic information about their sources.

The final section of Ayestarán's work is a 12 page musical study of the Sonate

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131.Professor Lange and others state that Zipoli was born on 17 October 1688. Lange, "Storia," 206.

132.Ayestarán, Domenico Zipoli, 20.

133.Lange, "Storia," 212.

d'Intavolatura. Although it is not as detailed an analysis as those of Lemmon and Erickson-Bloch,[134] Ayestarán's is a good introductory assessment of Zipoli's music. In the epilogue to this work, Ayestarán summarizes Zipoli's music in this manner: "His works stand up, without being inferior, among some of the greatest of his time."[135] An adequate bibliography concludes the work, providing a few additional sources to the corpus of Zipoli scholarship.

Certainly this reedition of Ayestarán's research deserves a high place among the seminal Spanish-language materials of Zipoli research along with those of Lange and Furlong. It is highly readable, at times almost chatty, but always backed up with factual proof. As such, it is an indispensable single reference.

The final text in this essay is the work of the Argentine attorney, statesman, and professor, Pedro José Frias. This work is largely based on the works of Father Furlong and Lauro Ayestarán and supplemented by a Pratense journal, Storia e Arte.[136] In the vacuum of any personal memoirs of Zipoli himself, Frias offers his interpretation of the kinds of thoughts that the composer might have had as he developed, migrated, and performed his duties:

> I have visited Prato, I believe that I have followed his steps in Rome, I have commemorated his journey to America, I have tried to become acquainted with his contemporaries, I have enjoyed his music. In this manner these memoirs were born. Are they attributed or are they discoveries? If this isn't Zipoli, it is a friend who has grown from his silence.[137]

Frias makes several minor mistakes in the preface to the memoirs, namely: 1) stating Zipoli's birth date as 16 October 1688, 2) ascribing the position of kapellmeister

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134.Lemmon, "The Sonate d'Intavolatura," 19-85; Erickson-Bloch, "The Keyboard Music," 30-248.

135.Ayestarán, Domenico Zipoli, 36.

136.Frias, Memorias, 19.

137.Ibid., 4.

of *Il Gesù* to Zipoli, and 3) mentioning that Zipoli wrote a "treatise" on the master of the organ and harpsichord.

Aside from these typical factual errors of the time, Frias presents a credible image of the composer's dilemmas as his life unfolded. It is an intimate and sensitive portrayal that warrants close reading by those who would gain closer appreciation of the effects of the cultural transplantation on the creative soul. Perhaps the best summary of the "composer's" sentiments are expressed in his own, poignant words "written" at Santa Catalina:

> A final examination has declared me prepared for the ministry, but no one knows when the Bishop will arrive who will lay hands on me. I am a religious person without a priesthood and without a Mass. I am a composer who has remained without his inspiration, obligated to take up a style again that has stopped being mine again somehow. An author who has not published a work, but who has composed the most appropriate works for the natives and Spaniards of these lands.
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> At 37, everything in me has been cut short. Exactly in me, I wanted to conclude a career only to mature to that final stage of perfection that might be allowed to me. To mature - I thought about it in Prato - it depends on the purposes of the work that embodies the values; then I believed that I matured in the final stage. No, then I would have failed. No, I did not believe myself a failure. It would have been enough to have shown me the music that they had showed me. Melancholy is the conscience of my privation, but I cannot confess myself empty. There is Someone who waits for me and Someone who fills me. I have matured in each road traveled, because maturity is not a final stage, but rather a way of attaining it.[138]

Conclusion

This essay has detailed the evolution of Spanish-language Zipoli research from the earliest, passing mentions to the fully developed works based on extensive original musicological and bibliographic paleontology. However, the recent discoveries in South America show that the research about Zipoli is far from over, perhaps simply beginning a

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138.Ibid., 16.

new chapter. The work of the trailblazers such as Lange and Stevenson continues while the next generation of scholars like Kennedy and (Argentine) Bernardo Iliari are beginning to gain momentum. Continued, close communication between scholars on both continents must take place in order that the world can have a complete picture of Zipoli's genius.

Bibliographic and bibliometric work is not without its place in this ongoing investigation. Reporting on works, providing access to them, and maintaining them is an important activity for all scholars, especially in an area that has historically been marginally covered. In the next section of this study, bibliometric data will be presented to provide some initial parameters to the literature about Zipoli. As with the musicological efforts, further research into Zipoli bibliometrics could bear interesting fruit in describing the literature that described the man and his music.

Citation Analysis of Spanish-Language Texts

Method

The purpose of this citation frequency [139] analysis is to attempt to establish a core list of secondary and tertiary sources on which these Spanish-language works are based. For purposes of this investigation, a citation will be defined as a citation in a footnote or an entry in a reference list from which citation information can be readily inferred. These citations were placed in a matrix where the rows were labeled as "citations to" and the columns were labeled as "citations received." In this manner the most frequently cited works were determined. However, due to the size of the entire matrix, detailed counts for only those works receiving more than one citation will be reproduced.

Citations not directly related to Zipoli were not included in this analysis. Such citations would include those to works about the art and architecture of the Jesuits or works about other Jesuit composers active in the reductions. Multiple citations to the same work within a text were not counted since the purpose was to identify core Spanish-language materials.

Results

Of the 26 Spanish-language texts considered in this study, 23 produced at least 1 citation as defined above. These 23 texts produced a total of 65 unique citations with a "times cited" modal value of 1 (N=31) and a total number of citations of 157. The average number of references per paper was 6.04 for all works and 6.82 for the 23 works

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139.John Martyn and F. Wilfrid Lancaster, Investigative Methods in Library and Information Science: an Introduction (Arlington, Virginia: Information resources Press, 1981), 89. Martyn and Lancaster use this term to describe the process employed in this study; Linda C. Smith, "Citation Analysis," Library Trends 30 (Summer 1981): 85. Smith calls the method "citation count". The terms will be interchangeably used in this study.

which had at least one citation. The following table displays the citation distribution from the matrix data (percentage refers to the proportion that this number of citations was of total citations). This table highlights several interesting facts about these texts: 1) the importance of the discovery of the Mass in F Major, 2) the chronolgical dispersion of the sources cited, and 3) the handful of core materials used.

Table 1.
Citation Frequency in Spanish-Language Works

	Title	Year	Citations	Pct.
1	*Stevenson*	1959	11	7.0
2	Lozano	1730	10	6.3
3	Peramás	1793	10	6.3
4	Ayestarán	1941	9	5.7
5	Furlong	1933	5	3.2
6	Furlong	1944	5	3.2
7	Rillo	1728	5	3.2
8	deRubertis	1951	4	2.5
9	Furlong	1955	4	2.5
10	Pannain	1919	4	2.5
11	Tagliavini	1959	4	2.5
12	*Claro*	1969	4	2.5
13	deRubertis	1946	3	1.9
14	Ayestarán	1962	3	1.9
15	Herran	1727	3	1.9
16	Lange	1955	3	1.9
17	Lange	1973	3	1.9
18	Oliver	1775	3	1.9
19	Salazar	1946	3	1.9
20	dellaCorte	1959	2	1.3
21	deBacker	1772	2	1.3
22	Cambarieu	1935	2	1.3
23	Cardiel	1747	2	1.3
24	Furlong	1943	2	1.3
25	Grenón	1948	2	1.3
26	Grenón	1950	2	1.3
27	Labrador	1767	2	1.3
28	Leonhardt	1924	2	1.3
29	Lozano	1862	2	1.3

Table 1. continued

30	Martini		2	1.3
31	Pastells		2	1.3
32	Sommervogel	1898	2	1.3
33	Stevenson	1959	2	1.3
34	Torrefranca	1930	2	1.3
35	Others (1 cit.)		31	19.7
			===	====
	TOTALS		157	100%

Notes concerning Table 1:

The items in *italics* refer to the discoveries of compositions by the name of the discoverer.[140] The Sonate d'Intavolatura was included only if it occurred as a "citation" as defined above.

The discovery of the Mass in F Major by Robert Stevenson is cited in every text published since 1960, with Gesualdo being the first. It is apparent from both this analysis and reading the texts that this event changed the way that scholars viewed Zipoli. Like deRubertis' discovery of Zipoli's baptismal certificate in 1941, the discovery of the Mass strengthened the link between Zipoli's European and American activity and provided the beginnings of proof that his time in America was not totally devoted to ecclesiastical studies. In fact, a significant parallel can be drawn between these two discoveries and Thomas Kuhn's paradigmatic shifts in science since they "qualitatively transformed as well as quantitatively enriched" the scholarly world" by fundamental novelties of either fact or theory."[141]

Secondly, it is interesting to note that nearly 20 percent of the citations in these works had 1 citation and that 15 others had 2 citations; a combined 38.8 percent of the citations in this group were cited at most 2 times. This is noteworthy in a small group of

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140.Michael H. MacRoberts and Barbara R. MacRoberts, "Problems of Citation Analysis: A Critical Review," Journal of the American Society for Information Science 40 (September 1989): 344. The MacRoberts point out the importance of linking the discoverer with the discovery to eliminate bias in citing and concomitantly, citation analysis.

141.Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 2d ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 7.

texts perhaps indicating that there was no established core list of materials with which scholars consistently began an investigation. Alternatively, perhaps this fact is indicative of an active research orientation of the scholars participating in this area of study. Since there was no established list of works to which the scholar might refer, it was each individual's task to seek out additional works that might add knowledge to the paradigm. Nonetheless, a frequency count of 2 citations can hardly be called overwhelming support for inclusion of a work on the core list.

Finally, if the frequency of citation is a measure of a text's worthiness of being included on a core reading list, it is simple to see the demarcation between core and non-core works in the frequency table. A frequency break occurs after Ayestarán's 1941 work; perhaps works in the frequency range of 3 to 5 could be said to be a secondary core collection for this group. Furthermore, if Ayestarán's 1962 pamphlet is considered as an extension of his 1941 work, the composite score would place Ayestarán's work at the top of the core list. For these Spanish writers, then, the following works would comprise the core list:

> Stevenson's discovery of the Mass in F Major.
>
> Ayestarán's Domenico Zipoli, el gran compositor ... or Domenico Zipoli, vida y obra.
>
> Lozano's Cartas Annuas 1720-1730.
>
> Peramás' De vita et moribus tredecim sacerdotum ...

Arguably, the Mass should not be included with printed material, but it is what the Mass *represents* (an indication of Zipoli's activity in South America) that is important, not its format.

This analysis also shows that for these writers, only a few scholars were outstanding enough to have multiple works cited in the above table, namely Furlong, Ayestarán, Stevenson, de Rubertis, Grenón, and Lange. Except Stevenson, all of these

writers were either South American natives or lived a portion of their lives there. Whether this indicates a predisposition for South American writers or that materials from North America or Europe were unavailable is unclear. Since mere quantitative analysis of the works cannot reflect the quality of the works considered, further research is required to investigate a question of preference. Taking a broader perspective of the whole of Zipoli literature, the above group of scholars would constitute the foundation of scholars to which one might add the names of Kennedy, Tagliavini, Becheri, and Erickson-Bloch. Although Italian scholars might have done significant work on Zipoli recently,[142] there has yet to be any indication of this activity in the United States.

Finally, this initial investigation of the data using bibliometric tools should lead to further research, specifically to address the inherent problems of citation analysis as mentioned by MacRoberts[143] and Smith.[144] Further work on these data could include studies on bibliographic coupling, co-citation analysis, or a citation count by language, country, or year of publication.

142.Specifically the Prato Convocation in 1988 commemorating the 300th anniversary of Zipoli's birth.

143.MacRoberts and MacRoberts, "Problems of Citation Analysis," 343-347. The MacRoberts discuss a taxonomy of "event-data" problems of citation analysis based primarily on examples drawn from studies done on the scientific literature.

144.Smith, "Citation Analysis," 86-93. In this article Smith discusses problems with the underlying assumptions of citation analysis as well as problems with the citations themselves.

Conclusion

Zipoli's music is beginning to reach an audience of a new era. Contemporary listeners can judge for themselves whether his music is like "eating honey"[145] or if his reputation was the result of overly enthusiastic fellow Jesuits.[146] The bibliographic items collected in this study can also provide background material for the scholar doing research or the music consumer who is looking for additional information on an "unknown" composer. The fact that these materials are in a machine-readable form lend them to automated analysis and inclusion into an expanded database which contains both musical scores and language components. Such interconnected documents as these seem to be a natural resource for a hypertext application. Any of these possibilities enhance the usefulness and access of the data to both scholars and casual users.

This study has met the research objectives defined above:[147]

1. Collected and translated many of the important Spanish-language texts in a single work so that a users can be the judge of the scholarly arguments and apply these texts as a reference tool,
2. Increased the accessibility to these works thereby making them more available for further research,
3. Completed a review of the some of the more important non-Spanish literature about Zipoli; translated and included these works as an appendix to this study,
4. Shown that bibliometric methods such as citation analysis be used to establish a list of core materials from this data,

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145. Josephi E. Peramás: De vita et Moribus tredecim virorum Paraguaycorum, Faventia, 1793, p. 294. Communicated by Father Guillermo Furlong; quoted in Ayestarán, Domenico Zipoli, vida y obra, 23.

146.Professor Lange expresses these sentiments in "Storia" and "Consideraciones".

147.See the section entitled Research Objectives.

5. Provided a descriptive report of the coverage of Zipoli-related materials cataloged on OCLC to give the reader an initial idea of the available monographs, scores, and sound recordings in the United States.

The final global objective of this paper to familiarize the reader with Zipoli so that he will no longer be a "friend who has grown from his *silence*."[148].

148.Frias, Memorias, 4. Italics added.

APPENDIX A

Tagliavini, Luigi Ferdinando. "Domenico Zipoli", MGG.

Domenico Zipoli - born 16 October 1688 in Prato (Tuscany), died 2 January 1726 in Córdoba (modern day Argentina). Zipoli was a student of G. M. Casini. His name first appeared among the 24 composers of the 1708 oratorio Sara in Egitto performed in Florence be the company of San Marco. A year later (1709) Zipoli petitioned the Grand Duke Cosimo III (of Tuscany) to (go to) Naples to (study with) Alessandro Scarlatti, but that same year he left (Scarlatti) because of strong differences and went to Bologna to Father Lavinio Vannucci. It was probably in Bologna that Zipoli composed the (today) missing eight part mass mentioned by G. B. Martini. In 1710 he was sent by the Grand Duke to Bernardo Pasquini in Rome, but Zipoli couldn't benefit much from this teacher because the old master died in November of 1710. In Rome, where Zipoli made his home, he produced 2 oratorios in 1712 and 1714 and was named organist of the Jesuit Church. In 1716, after the publication of his Sonate d'intavolatura, he set out for Seville (Spain) and became a novice in the Jesuit Order. On 5 April 1717 he traveled to the former Paraguay Province as a missionary. He settled in Córboba where he took up theological and philosophical studies and was simultaneously busy with composition and as organist of the Jesuit Church. Before he could be ordained as a priest, he died.

Works:

1. Oratorios (Only the librettos extant. Published in Rome by De' Rossi and in Florence by Vangelisti)

    Sant' Antonio di Padova - C. Uslenghi, librettist; 1712 Rome, Oratorio della Chiesa Nuova.

    Santa Caterine vergine e martire - G. B. Grappelli, librettist; 1714 Rome, Oratorio S. Girolamo della Carita.

    Sara in Egitto - D. Canavese, librettist; 1708 Florence, Compagnia of San Marco.

2. Other Vocal Works

    Mass for 3 voices with 2 violins and organ, manuscript (copy) in Sucre (Bolivia) Cathedral Archive.

    Cantata "Dell'offese a vendicarmi" for soprano and basso continuo, manuscript in the Berlin Deutsche Staatsbibliothek.

    Among the writings of G. B. Martini in an inventory of church compositions of (primarily) Bolognese masters, an 8 voice Messa concertante with trumpet, oboe, and violin is listed.

3. Instrumental Works

    Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo (Opus 1). Dedicated to Princess Maria Teresa Strozzi and dated in Rome 01 January, 1716. Reprint of the first volume as "A third collection of tocattes vollentarys and fugues for the organ or harpsichord," London (no date); Walsh,

volume 2 reprinted as "Six suites of Italians lessons for the harpsichord or spinet op. 1," London (no date). Amongst the different contemporary editions are the ones in Naples Conservatory library, manuscript 6.2.23, preserved copies, the others are probably of dubious authenticity.

Solo (sonata) for Violin and basso continuo. The manuscript is in the Dresden LandesBibliothek.

The Catalogue general des livres de musique (Paris 1729) erroneously credits works to Zipoli's name which were probably written by Michel Corrette. This is attributable the authors' confusion between the two composers.

One sees the basis of the popularity of Zipoli's keyboard works in the pleasing combinations of compositional style and traditional forms of the Italian organ literature with the concert and melodic tastes of his time. The organ and cembalo works are clearly separated from each other in his Sonate d'intavolatura. The organ pieces are introduced by a tocatta and followed by 5 series in different keys consisting of 4 versos and a canzona each; other pieces are for intended for different portions of the missal liturgy (offertory, elevation, and post communion) and is closed with a pastorale. Among the contrapuntal forms the 3-part G minor *Canzona* stands out, which follows the principle of the variation-canzona of the Frescobaldian model; among the free forms the melodic charm of both the *Elevazioni* arias and the popular realism of the 3-part *Pastorale* are drawn out. The second part of the Sonate intended for the Cembalo contains 4 suites and 2 partitas. Of Zipoli's creations from his emigration to South America, a 3 voice Mass with violin was discovered by Robert Stevenson in 1959 in Sucre (Bolivia), that exhibits Zipoli's typical balance of contrapuntal, harmonic, and "concertante" elements.

Editions:

Sonate d'intavolatura, edition published with A. Toni as editor. Volume 145-150. I Classici della musica italiana, Milan 1919, Instituto Editoriale Italiano; Ibid., critical edition published by L. F. Tagliavini, Heidelberg 1959, W. Müller Süddeutscher Musikverlag; the largest part of the Sonate also in volume 15 of A and L Farrenc, Trésor des pianistes, Paris 1869, Farrenc -- Individual pieces from the Sonate in numerous collections of organ and harpsichord music.

Literature:

G. B. Martini, Scrittori di Musica, volume B, Bologna, G. B. Martini Library, Manuscript H-61, S. 61 and 79

G. Frotscher, Geschicte des Orgelspiels II, Berlin 1936, Hesse 777-781

R Lustig, "Saggio bibliografico degli oratorii stampati a Firenze dal 1690 al 1725" in Note d'Archivo per la storia musicale 14, 1939, 116

L. Ayestarán, "D. Zipoli, el gran compositor y organista romano del 1700 en el Rio de la Plata" in Revista Histórica 35 (2nd epoch), volume 13, number 37, Montevideo 1941

V de Rubertis, "Dove y quando morì Domenico Zipoli" in RMI 53, 1951, 152 ff

G Furlong, "D. Zipoli, músico eximo en Europa y América" in Archivum Historicum

Societatis Jesu 24, 1955, 418 ff

L. F. Tagliavini, forward to the first volume of the critical edition, see **Editions**

R. Stevenson, The Music of Peru, Washington 1959, Pan American Union, 179

M. Fabri, "Due musicisti genovesi alla corte granducale medicea G. M. Pagliardi e M. Bitti" in Musicisti premontesi e liguri (Numero unico per la XVI Settimana Musicale Senese), Siena 1959, Ticci

_____, A Scarlatti e il Pricipe Ferdinando de Medici, Florence 1960, Olschki

L. Ayestarán, D. Zipoli, vida y obra, Montevideo 1962, Sodre- Antar

_____, "D Zipoli y al Barroco musical sudamericano" in Revista Musical Chilena 18, 1962, 94-124.

Lange, Francisco Curt. "Domenico Zipoli: storia di una riscoperta." Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana 2 (April/June 1985), 203-226.

At the beginning of 1716, the same year that he published his first work, the Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo, Domenico Zipoli, the final representative of the great Italian organ tradition, mysteriously disappeared. Through more than 200 years, any mention of the places where he came to spend his existence and where his days were ended was lacking. The Italian musical historiography was not even minimally preoccupied by such mysterious and sudden disappearance.

The pirated editions of Hare and Walsh, of the first part (1725) and the second part (1731) of the Intavolatura, with successive reprints edited by Walsh alone (1741, 1747, and 1755) allows a much deeper recognition of the work of Zipoli with respect to the edition of 1716 whose printing, certainly very limited, was realized under the auspices of the Princess of Forano, Maria Teresa Strozzi, to whom the work turned out to be dedicated, with a date of the first of January of that year, actually to that lady, whose palace in Forano was frequented in addition to the aforementioned Zipoli, by Pasquini, Corelli, Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti. The concern of Walsh was not addressed to the work of Zipoli in its exclusive form: they are entered in a most vast assortment of Italian works, from Albinoni to Corelli, from Gabrielli to Gasparini, finally to Vivaldi, that they became diffuse to the most active editor, not only in England, but in all of Europe. What is certain is that Domenico Zipoli died in remote Córdoba (Argentina), on the second of January 1726, without having come to know of the posthumous glory that they got for him from that series of editions.[1] In 1933, Father Guillermo Furlong published an important work, the story of the vicissitudes of the Society of Jesus in Argentina, Los Jesuitas y la Cultura Rioplatense. In the chapter dedicated to the musicians, a brother Domenico Zipoli is cited, but no one could think at the time that it could have treated the famous organist of the same name and surname.[2]

In 1939, I asked my students, Lauro Ayestarán and Rodolfo Barbacii to try to study the case thoroughly, aside from that already analyzed by the same Father Furlong in successive research. A little later, the second World War broke out, with the consequent interruption of contact with many European nations and especially Italy, entered into the conflict. Ayestarán, young and lacking experience published a fairly hasty article in that year.[3]

In 1941, I was able to obtain a photographic copy of the baptismal certificate of Domenico Zipoli[4] from the town of Prato. At the conclusion of the second World War, I obtained, thanks to the generosity of the director of the Bayerische Staatsarchiv, the death notice, inserted in his Annuas by the contemporary of Zipoli, the historian of the Society of Jesus in those years, Father Pedro Lozano.[5] The confusion over the place of Zipoli's birth had its origin in the work of the same Jesuits. Carl Sommervogel, based on the testimony of the brothers Augustín and Alois de Becker, had him born in Prato, New Castile; Ernest Rivère, in the Italian city of Rieti.[6] Robert Eitner, based on his many references to Gerber in his work Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler, had him born in 1675 in Nola, in the vicinity of Naples, joining his father who would have been the kapellmeister of the cathedral and who would have sent his son to the Conservatorio della Pietà dei Turchini, from whence he would have continued on to Rome in 1969, to complete his education.[7] To clarify this point, I conducted intense research in the archive of the Cathedral of Nola on 2 occasions: especially to exclude that another Zipoli, organist and composer, existed at this time, more or less. The search was made more difficult by the conditions of the city which received heavy bombardment due

to the war and the advance of the Allies through Italy. The result of this research was negative.

Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, at the time director of the Institute of Musicology near the Université de Misércorde (Friburg, Switzerland), during a search in the archive of the library of the Convento di San Francesco in Bologna, found the second volume of a Dizionario biografico-musicale, manuscript of Father G. B. Martini, including the letters N-Z. On page 557 of this volume there appears this word-for-word report:[8]

> Domenico Zipoli of Prato studied the first rudiments with the music director of the Cathedral in Florence and was then sent by the Archduke to Alessandro Scarlatti in Naples, whom he soon left on account of strong differences of opinion; in 1709, he went to Bologna, where he was received by P. D. Lavinio Vannucci, a monk in the monastery of S. Barbaziano, and was finally sent by the Archduke already mentioned, to Bernardo Pasquini in Rome. It is to be noted that he was 19 years old when he arrived in Bologna; he was therefore born in 1690. He finally became a Jesuit.

If this document had been the first discovery of our efforts to individuate the birthplace and the studies realized by Zipoli, it would certainly have been able to direct the Italian historiography and research and resolution of such a mysterious case. Although true nevertheless, in those which were the earliest times of musical bibliography, many assertions themselves were based solely on "hearsay". At any rate, the important result is the final phrase, "He finally became a Jesuit."

I ran into insurmountable obstacles to knowing the exact data of the birth, the origin, and the first musical studies and the professional formation of Zipoli in Italy. His first work revealed a great maturity, forcing the scholar to ask himself whether he actually dealt with a first work or rather, as frequently happened in the time of the Italian Baroque, so full of young talents, was it preceded by other compositions still unpublished. The meager and summary study of Ayestarán had the merit of provoking interest in some Italian historians, spreading the information on the birthplace of Zipoli and on his death in Córdoba across Europe, permitting opportune rectification in the dictionaries that they were publishing.

The person who helped me in the most effective manner, by means of systematic research, was the priest, Renzo Fantappié, parson of San Luca in Querece, a suburb of Prato. He succeeded in explaining many of the aspects of Zipoli's life. So, going back to the old reckoning of days and hours which were in force in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, which only came to be changed in 1750, he was able to prove that Domenico Zipoli was born on the 17th of October at 1:30 and he was baptized the following day in the Cathedral of Prato. His father, a peasant, attended to part of the San Martino farm on the properties of the well-to-do Nardini family. The house in which he was born no longer exists; it arose where number 77 Bologna Way is now, and it belonged to the parochial district of Santo Stefano, in which the elementary school that Domenico frequented existed. No doubt that he began to sing soprano in the cathedral choir, soon showing off his musical gifts, and receiving, according to the custom of the time, his first instruction.

In the partially preserved ecclesiastical documents we learn that Sabatino Zipoli and his wife Eugenia had seven children. The eldest, Giovanbattista, taught humanistic science and rhetoric in the high school of Prato; much later, protege of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he transferred to the seminary of Volterra, being ordained a priest in 1708; it is also known that he practiced the instruction in San Miniato al Tedesco. This elder

brother, esteemed as a poet and blessed with noteworthy intellectual qualities, died quite young. Another brother, Anton Francesco, born six years after Domenico, also put on the ecclesiastical habit, but we weren't able to find out anything about his life. In 1699, Domenico was confirmed by the bishop of Pistoia and Prato, Monsignor Leone Strozzi. In 1702, the Zipoli family moved to a more central zone of the city, perhaps to facilitate the children's studies.[9]

We do not have the concrete information about the professional formation of Domenico Zipoli. Prato, his native city, enjoyed renown of its organistic tradition at the end of the 16th century; it was an autonomous musical activity of some developing importance. Teachers of Zipoli might have been Ottaviano Termini and Giovan Battista Becatelli, kapellmeisters of the Cathedral, and the organist Father Nicolo Rovinetti of the church of San Francesco. On September 12, 1707, the young Domenico forwarded a petition to Prince Ferdinand of Tuscany to obtain financial assistance that would allow him to perfect his studies in Florence. In this application he particularly mentions the lack of means to pursue his studies. Without doubt the application was accompanied by important professional certificates: the same Chancellery verified that it deals with "a young student, of good spirit and of good expectation."

Obtaining the subsidy, Zipoli moved to Florence in 1707. It is probable that he had continued in his studies with Giovani Maria Casini, kapellmeister of the Cathedral of Florence starting in 1703: it deals with the hypothesis that is strengthened by the fact that Zipoli appears included in a group of 24 composers, each with a piece, in the realization of the oratorio, Sara in Egitto, performed by the Compagnia di San Marco, a lay brotherhood, in Lent 1708; that brotherhood was a branch ensemble of another similar one, the Congregation and Hostel of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph and of the Holy Trinity (la Congregazione e Ospizio di Gesù, Maria e Guiseppe e della Santissima Trinità) on San Gallo street in the San Lorenzo quarter, in an imposing edifice that still stands today and which should not be confused with the Convento di San Marco, connected with the famous names of Beato Angelico and Girolamo Savonarola.[10] Among the very illustrious authors who collaborated on this oratorio figured Caldara, Gasparini, Alessandro Scarlatti, Veracini, and Giovani Maria Casini.

In the month of July of 1708, Domenico presented a second petition, soliciting a new intervention to be able to perfect his studies and to become nominated organist or kapellmeister in another city. It was granted another time and accompanied with a letter of presentation from the same prince Ferdinando to Alessandro Scarlatti (according to that which was related by Father Martini), we presume that between September and October he would have been directed toward Rome, where he found Scarlatti, who had, moreover, on the 1st of December 1708 accepted the invitation of the new Viceroy of Naples to resume his previous functions in that city. And here we must once again repeat the testimony of Father Martini:

> [...] he was sent by the Archduke to Alessandro Scarlatti in Naples, whom he left on account of strong differences of opinion; in 1709, he went to Bologna where he was received by P. D. Lavinio Vannucci, a monk in the monastery of S. Barbaziano, and was finally sent, by the Archduke already mentioned, to Bernardo Pasquini in Rome.

The psychological tendencies of Zipoli, clearly described in the death notice by Father Pedro Lozano who knew him closely, revealed his as an introvert, respectful, and at the same time very shy. The conflict, probably momentary with Scarlatti, whose ends we do not know, must have provoked a strong impression in Domenico.

The Roman sojourn ended, we do not know when, he withdrew to Bologna, probably disoriented and dejected, to be received by Father Vannucci, a great theoretician who nevertheless had nothing more to teach the young composer of 20 years. Scarlatti was not known for teaching and his attitude must not have been very notable. In truth, the one pupil to whom he dedicated with a generous disposition was his son Domenico, while musicians like Cotumacci and Hasse could be classified as occasional students. His same stay in the Conservatorio de Santa Maria di Loreto in Naples, in 1689, was very short. The time of the stay in the village of Pratolino (1702) was soon past and his definitive reentry to Naples could have signified a cooling of his rapport with Prince Ferdinando. Thus the precise information about the length of Zipoli's stay on the Convent of San Barbaziano is missing from us also. It is probable that he remained in contact with Prince Ferdinando concerning his encounter with Scarlatti, so it is also possible that he was the same prince that committed him to the care of Bernardo Pasquini; from whom he could have profited only for a little while, since the latter died on 21 November 1710.

Nothing concrete has come down to us about his arrival in Rome, which nevertheless must have happened in the course of 1709: indeed, the Congregazione di Santa Cecilia charged him, on the date of 23 September 1712, to compose the Vespri and the Mesa della Quaranta Ore for the festival of San Carlo, in the Church of San Carlo ai Catinari, where that important brotherhood prepared the appropriate seat and of a chapel dedicated to the proper patron, Saint Cecilia. Zipoli received similar tasks in the years 1712 and 1713: we think that these do not refer to the same work written in 1710, each year required a new composition. To be known and appreciated so quickly by the Congregazione, our musician, coming from Bologna, must have reached Rome in 1709: indeed, bear in mind that to practice publicly in the center for erudite music, each composer had to submit to a preliminary examination. The connections of Domenico Zipoli with the Congregazione di Santa Cecilia, without which a musician would not have been able to practice in Rome, would presuppose the existence of a document bearing Zipoli's authentic signature in the "organist" section of the Congregazione, which was divided into various sections; nevertheless, the fear that we would not be able to study it thoroughly, by the categorical denial given us by the author of the work on the Academy of Santa Cecilia, a member of the same, under the pretense of the disorder in which one finds the archive. Even with the negative answer, on the other hand, it is information for other researchers who are also interested in studying this rich collection of documents.[11] On September 9, 1716, when Zipoli was already in Seville, assigned to the Province of Paraguay of the Society of Jesus, he is confirmed in the Breve della S. M. di Clemente XI Confirmatorio degli Statuti della Congregazione dei Musici sotto l'invocation di S. Cecilia in San Carlo ai Catinari (Brief of the S. M. of Clement XI Confirmation of the Statutes of the Congregation of Music under the name of S. Cecilia in San Carlo ai Catinari)., surely proclaimed in the time before and practically as well-known after, is confirmed by the highest pontiff.[12]

Domenico Zipoli also wrote the music for 2 other oratorios. The first of these, Sant'Antonio da Padova, was presented in the course of Lent, 1712, that covered the period from 13 February to 26 March of that year, in the Chiesa Nova, that is to say in Santa Maria in Vallicella, residence of the Philippine Fathers, so-called after their founder, San Filippo Neri. The author of the libretto[13], Carlo Uslenghi, of Arcadia Melindo Esculapiano, according to the practice of the time, defined this work as a melodrama, while in reality it had the form and content of an oratorio. The second, Santa Caterina Vergine e Martire, was presented Palm Sunday, the 25th of March 1714, in the church of San Girolamo della Carità, a little way from the Villa Farense. The author of this opera was Giovanni Grapelli[14], also a famous spokesman from Arcadia, who dedicated the text to monsignor Sinibaldo Doria, while Uslenghi had instead dedicated

his own opera to the cardinal Pietro Ottobani, who was described by a notable French personage: "Ottobon, poête detéstable, mais, en revanche, un heureux Cardinal" (Ottobon, a wretched poet, but in return, a happy Cardinal). It appears to be evident that to Zipoli, no sooner had he arrived in Rome, than all the doors were open through the warm commendation of his guardian Bernardo Pasquini and the fervent welcome he received at the Palazzo Strozzi; only this would explain why he would be helped by ranking poets, as the Roman exponents of the Arcadia were. On the contrary, we do not believe that the Bishop of Pistoia and of Prato, Monsignor Leone Strozzi, who gave the young Domenico the sacrament of confirmation, had supported Domenico in the house of the Roman branch of the Strozzi family, although the same monsignor would have been found in that time in Rome "*referendario* of the chancellry and family prelate of our holiness."

The palace of the Strozzi family, the second one acquired by that famous family, is found, separated only by a small square, facing the church of San Francesco della Stimmate; it is only on that side on top of which one is able to observe its original facade. The facade of the building that sat on the neighboring Argentine Square underwent the consequence of demolition arranged by the Commune of Rome in 1882. The whole building was acquired by a Triestine industrial portent, Marc Besso, who wholly restored it beginning in 1905, with the exception of a part, rather conspicuously exposed to expropriation for the new Victor Emmanuelle II street that replaced the old "Strada papale". The Church of Jesus, head church of the Society, with attached Confessional House, is found a little way from the building. It is therefore thinkable that Domenico Zipoli would have been found frequently participating in the literary and musical gatherings of the Strozzi family.

Maria Teresa Mayorga Renzi Strozzi, indisputable patroness of Zipoli, belonged to the noble Roman family. She was the daughter of Giovan Battista Strozzi and of the Marquise Ottavia di Scipione Renzi, celebrated for her great beauty which inspired numerous sonnets and poets of the time, such as Buccheri and Magalotti. A lady of great culture, she must have imparted a very refined education to Maria Teresa as was *de rigeur* in the time. Giovanni Battista Strozzi, Marquis of Forano, entered into Arcadia in 1690, when it was founded under the direction of Giovanni Maria Crescimbini who from thence was the general custodian until 1728; this one, we have observed was a native of Macerata, a city in which not long ago appeared a Zipolian document, to which we will refer later on. Maria Teresa Strozzi entered the Arcadia in 1716 with the name of Celinda Caradria. When Zipoli began to frequent the palace, the Marquese Ottavia had already died in 1708. Maria Teresa was married to Lorenzo Francesco Strozzi and was the mother of seven children, born between 1699 and 1718. It is very probable that the dramatic text of the same cantata [Dell' offesse a vendicarmi] that we have reconstructed was attributed to her, referring to the tragic suicide of Lucrezia, wife of Collatino, ravaged by Sesto Quartinio: the well-known episode occurred in the 4th century B.C., the time of the last king of Rome, Tarquinio il Superbo [Tarquin the Great].[15] Maria Teresa died in 1748.

The hypothesis formulated by Guillermo Furlong, according to which Zipoli might have been enamored with Maria Teresa, then deciding to embrace the priesthood because of the certain impossibility of overcoming the social gulfs that separated him from her, seems to our eyes such an evident error, derived from a scarce knowledge of Domenico's character. In general, the lack of sufficient documentation about Zipoli favored the spread of an imaginative tendency in Argentina, expressed through various methods of publication, which treated the case of Zipoli in a romantic form. It is opportune to emphasize that there were 4 composers of great renown who became part of the Arcadia. Years before, there entered into the Academy, which was the first

forerunner association of the Arcadia, Girolamo Frescobaldi, with the name of Sorante Caraceo. Alessandro Scarlatti appears in the Arcadians Terpando Politeio, Arcangelo Corelli as Arcomelo Erimanteo and Bernardo Pasquini as Proteico Azetiano. Also, we have already referred to Zipoli's two librettists, Carol Uslenghi and Giovan Battista Grapelli, who were part of this association of illustrious men. We should emphasize the fact to demonstrate that Zipoli, in spite of his humble origins, was found to be actively engaged within a circle formed by personalities of great renown, a privileged situation that assured him of a brilliant future. Moreover, he unexpectedly joins, to impress upon the reader, his decision certainly adopted between 1714 and 1715, to enlist in the missionary outpost of the remote Jesuit Province of Paraguay. First, therefore to investigate that profound change in his sentimental and professional life, we believe it proper to study the possibility thoroughly, eventually resulting in the reports in our own hands, that Zipoli had also held several other positions in Rome: research more proper than his apologists in the Society of Jesus who attributed to him positions that he had never occupied in truth.

Father Furlong, among others, maintains that Zipoli was kapellmeister in the Chiesa del Gesù (Church of Jesus): a statement that, on the contrary, we are in a position to find unreliable. Clement XIV, as is known, decreed the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773, with the consequent confiscation of its goods; a second confiscation took place in 1873, only in 1924 proceeding to restore the abundant documentation archives, alleviated, moreover, in several destructions and indebted appropriations. We have sifted these archives with the greatest care possible, actually incorporated in the Jesuit property near the general House in Rome, in the small town of Santo Spirito. We have been able to observe that the musical expenses relative to the Chiesa del Gesù were registered in two "outlay" books, with very summary annotations. The normal disbursement for the kapellmeister, the music, the organist, and the organ amounted to a total of 35.50 scudi, without specifying some of the single compensations. Other entries were concerned with services other than the liturgical calendar, such as a requiem mass or a mass celebrated on the death anniversary of an important person: the Count Sforza, Carlo del Ponte, members of the Orsini family, etc. They also carried out ceremonies, with relative musical performances, such as some for one bestowed a doctorate or recording the anniversary of the death of the martyrs of Japan: it was normal on occasions of this kind to have recourse to extra musicians. As much as it seems, the sum of 35.50 scudi apart from the kapellmeister included the organist, the organ and "five house musicians of the first chorus." A second chorus, was probably added in the most solemn festivals. Consulting the documentation relative to the contract and pension of the kapellmeister, we would learn that Giovan Battista Giansetti was kapellmeister from 1675 to 1704; he was succeeded in the position by Carlo Francesco Cesarini from 1704 until 1741. So also the contract stipulated with organist Felice Doria who assumed the post in 1741 has come into our hands. It appears evident then that positions of that kind would always have been formalized by means of a contract and that the one of Zipoli, if it existed indeed, has gotten lost, and it is not thinkable that an exception would have been made for him. It is also to be observed that the kapellmeisters served for many years in their position without interruption: Giansetti for 29 and Cesarini for 38 years. Felice Doria subscribed to his commitment 5 days after the separate apposition of the signature of Gaetano Carpini who replaced Cesarini. We have omitted saying, for the sake of brevity the provisions relative to the obligations assumed by the organist, practically unchanged in the period included between 1709-1741. [16]

According to another hypothesis discussed by Father Cardiel, Zipoli might have been organist or kapellmeister of the church of San Giovanni in Laterano. In truth, from 1708 to 1719, this position was occupied by one of the most renowned masters of Roman composers , Guiseppe Ottavio Pitoni. These masters also held other positions, more or

less at the same time, one of which held for the rest of his days at the Collegium Germanicum Ungaricum. As the reader of the relevant documentation will be able to deduce, as was also observed at the Chiesa del Gesù, that the vocal and instrumental staff in no way followed a stable situation - indeed, it depended in large part on the importance of the solemnity and the financial availability. Moreover, in March of 1726, more or less at the time of Zipoli's death in Córdoba, Pitoni employed 4 singers 6 violins, a violet, 2 viols, an archlute, and a harpsichord in an oratorio, Manifestazione della Beata Virgine dell'Apollinare. In general, they paid attention to the quality, rather than to the quantity. In September 1719, Pitoni moved to direct the Capella Giulia, with an appreciably more numerous vocal and instrumental staff. From 1710 on, the organist in San Laterno was Giacomo de Tomassis. [17] To hear the famous organists, certainly Zipoli among them, they didn't miss the opportunity to be heard in the largest churches. He might have been able to have taken care of the musical service in the Noviziato of Sant' Andre, in the lovely church of Sant' Ignazio or in the Collegio Romano. Sant' Ignazio, begun in 1626 was opened to the public in 1650 and consecrated in 1722. Supposing that not all of the 1400 churches and chapels that existed in Rome in 1709, the year of Zipoli's arrival in Rome, would have been endowed with an organ, it is certain that in no case would they miss an opportunity to hear him play and to be appreciated. It still remains to add that the organ that Zipoli played in the Chiesa del Gesù has gone to ruin: it was the work of the Flemish (Dutch) Willem Hermans who was very active in Italy, building among others, the organ of the Cathedral of Como and that of Santa Maria di Carignano of Genoa. The instrument at the Casa Profesa of the Society is found in the choir, indeed in the gallery that verges on the presbitery from the side of the epistle, according to that which was communicated by Hugo Storni, actual director of the Archive of the Society.

The reasons that would have caused the maturation in Zipoli's mind to join the Society are rather easy to explain, resulting from the same familiar backgrounds of his 2 brother, the elder and the younger. In the receipt of the section "Organists of the Congregazione dei Musici sotto l' Invocazione di Santa Cecilia", his signature is preceded by a cross, as a presentiment of his future religious condition. His decision to subscribe to the province of Paraguay was later. The hypothesis of his eventual attendance in the Novitiate of Sant' Andrea in the Italian province, proves to be unraveled by the revisions to the catalog of that institution, which brought about a negative result for us. [18] It proves to be opportune to pay attention to the economic information that arrived in those years from the Province of Paraguay and which referred to the exceptional results obtained in the catechization of numerous savage tribes and in their inclusion into western civilization; these reports were to induce the imagination of Zipoli, no less those relating the marvelous musical aptitude displayed by the natives and to the formation of vocal and instrumental complexes in the villages of the missions. Also, the procurators of the Society who arrived in Rome and the frequent correspondence sent from the missionaries to parents or members of the Order must have been certain to rouse the interest and enthusiasms in the priests no less than the novices. And the resulting necessity to recruit an ever greater number of followers, they proceeded in the periodic dispatch of legates from the Province of Paraguay, deputies to bring about an intense proselytism in all of Catholic Europe. The wave of ardent mysticism that followed the slow, open colonization of Spanish America was not placated.

In 1710, the procurators of the Province of Paraguay were appointed by the Court of Madrid and the House of the Curia in Rome in the persons of fathers Diego Ruiz, Bartolomé Jiménez, and José de Aguirre. They were assigned to Europe dedicating themselves to the recruitment, through active propaganda, of new, fit personnel to strengthen the ranks of missionaries in the region. Suitable to this purpose, Father Jiménez came to Rome, obtained the support of seven Roman Jesuits and of six originating from other provinces. We do not know if Domenico took part in the

organizational ceremony of that clergyman, who arrived in Rome at a date unknown to us; as it also escapes us exactly when he made a start for the harbor where he found the ship that would have gone to Spain. Civitavecchia is very close to Rome, but we have the right to imagine that he would have embarked from Livorno, after going to Florence and to Prato to take leave of his family members before undertaking the great adventure. Both of these ports were subject to intense bombardment during World War II: the research that I completed in those two cities had unprofitable results.

We only know that Zipoli arrived in Seville and became part of the Province of Paraguay of the Society of Jesus on the 1st of June 1716, stayed 9 months in that city, in the consideration that would have reassembled all the fathers and novices in view of the departure, expected in Cadiz. According to Father Peramás, Zipoli did not fail to familiarize himself with the organ of the Cathedral of Seville; in addition, Father Cardiel relates to us that he [Zipoli] was offered the position of kapellmeister, which he did not accept, "having become part of the Society of Jesus." Nevertheless, it is probable that Zipoli would have been considered an organist *ad honorem* in Seville. From the moment of his affiliation in the Society, he received a daily sum for proper maintenance: "y enlos que se debtubiesen en Sevilla, aguardando embarcación se lest considerará a dos Reales de Vellon a cada uno (to those who waited in Seville in anticipation of the embarkation, they each were paid 2 Reales de Vellon)." [19] It was necessary, on the other hand, that he would have maintained himself in perfect training in anticipation of the journey to his new destination. And we have no doubt of the profound impression that the skillful organist of Prato must have produced in the inhabitants of the city who listened in the cathedral; so as to thoroughly study the construction technique and the sound quality of this Spanish instrument, with the characteristic reeds in sight, to successively compare it to ones in the Spanish American countries. It is possible that he had also frequented other churches to test the organs, including the Cathedral of Cadiz, immediately before departure.

A copy of the document of embarkation existing in the Archive General of the Indies is in our possession which includes the list of the 54 Jesuits who finally became part of the expedition organized by the Society of Jesus. Domenico Zipoli himself figures as number 28:

> *Domíngo Tipoli (sic), mediano, dos lunares en el carrillo izquierdo.*
> (Domenico Tipoli, of medium build, two moles on the left cheek).

It was kind of a passport, a document of identification, in those years extremely simple, as also occurred in Portugal. The 'T' in place of the 'Z' is liable to be either a characteristic handwriting error or of pronunciation of the one who compiled the list. In the true and proper list of embarkation, Zipoli figures in the 26th position:

> *Domíngo Tipoli (sic), filósofo, natural de Prato, Obispado de Florencia, 28 años.*
> (Domenico Zipoli, philospoher, native of Prato, Bishopric of Florence, 28 years old.) [20]

The attribution of the position of philosopher can be explained by his accomplished studies (quadrivium), but would have also had a diverse explanation.

The 5th of April 1716, this group of clergy, subdivided in 3 ships of which we do not know the names, weighed anchor bound for the Rio de la Plata. We do not have any orders of the clergy from this voyage; and it is a curious thing, since no other order would be a major vocation to express through description and epistolary reports.

Another question presents itself to our attention: would Zipoli have brought with him all his characteristic output or would he have left it aside in that Roman church? One would need to be able to penetrate the psychology of musicians of the Baroque age more thoroughly, whose productivity is a noteworthy thing so much as to become proverbial. Both the ecclesiastical music and those profane followed the same principle of functionality: the conservation of the work naturally depended in large part on the temperament of each author.

In the month of July, the missionaries arrived at the immense estuary of the Rio de la Plata, where a violent storm overtook them: certainly one of those *pamperos* that are still feared by all sailors today. Finally, they cast anchor in the cove of Buenos Aires. One of the ships had the masts damaged and had lost two crewmen. It was the custom of the time to welcome the clergymen with great celebration organized by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. A period of rest followed after the wearying sea voyage. After about two weeks, the missionaries departed for Córdoba where the Collegio maggiore of the Society was located. A long column of carts pulled by oxen undertook the slow crossing of the pampa. In Córdoba, they attended celebrations not inferior to those of Buenos Aires. The Jesuits had been in that city [Córdoba] since 1587. In 1610, they had founded the Collegio maggiore, in 1614, the University, in 1671 they consecrated their own church. Until the moment of their expulsion, they knew how to make that city a true center of ideas and activity. Moreover, Córdoba represented the principal communication node between Buenos Aires, the administrative capital in present-day Bolivia, with its Consejo de Charcas, called La Plata (Chuquisaca), and Lima. After the celebrations, the students would have been incorporated into the novitiate, each according to the level of study that they followed in their own country of origin. On the other hand, the fathers were introduced into the mechanism of the Collegio maggiore by learning a certain number of administrative notions and some elements of the native language spoken in the locations for which they were destined. Generally, the assignment of the new arrivals was that of co-adjutors.

Zipoli immediately began his studies, in which he gave a good account of himself. At the same time, he held the position of organist and kapellmeister. The calendar of the Society called for numerous solemn festivals, among them the festival of Saint Ignatius, demanded heavy preparations considering the musical situation in Córdoba at the time. We know nothing of the condition of the organ that was installed in the church of the High College at the time. It is logical to assume that it would have been built in some of the mission villages and successively transported in single pieces finally to Córdoba with the accompaniment of the Indian craftsmen in charge of reassembling it and making it work in the best way. They were instruments of reduced dimension, accompanied by a small pedal, with one manual and with various registrations. In many cases these instruments benefited other orders in a spirit of reciprocal cooperation.

Many years after the death of Zipoli, on the occasion of the expulsion of the Jesuits, which happened as already said in 1767, they compiled inventories in which we find cited "un organo grande." An organ that belonged to the Convent of the Teresas (Furlong erroneously attributed it to the Convent of the Catalinas) is visible yet toady in the provincial museum of Córdoba, sole testimony to the musical tradition of the colony. We consider it after the time of Zipoli, as we consider the hypothesis that Zipoli would have played it lacking foundation. We would point out its characteristics:

4 registers:
1. Principal (8')
2. Flute (8')
3. Octave (4')
4. Mutazioni (Fifth and Octave)

Short pedal, one octave
1 Register: Sotto-basso (16')

Now it appears necessary to occupy ourselves with the activity of Zipoli in the city of Córdoba. Unfortunately, we have not been able to obtain a single, relevant testimony to his life, by having examined the extant documentation of that brilliant period. We have the impression that Zipoli is confused with the large crowd of students who frequented the novitiate, as one of the soldiers who were prepared to swell the ranks of the Society. Of his musical qualities only highly praising allusions formulated in times after his death formulated by the fathers that knew, appreciated, and exalted him remain for us. References to his activity either as an organist or in the position of kapellmeister do not exist, it would be possible to presume that he carried out both of the positions. In the 2 large volumes of accounts that were generously loaned to me by Father Furlong and that were accurately revised by me, there never appears anything that would be but minimal reference to the professional activity of Brother Zipoli. The research undertaken by me in Córdoba has given incredibly meager results. It is altogether possible that the Novitiate and the Boarding School kept separate accounts, which perhaps disappeared in 1767 at the moment of the expulsion of the Society as it is probably true with the book of entries and the outlays of the church.

In the register of biennial vows of the students or novices, one is able to observe in 1720 that Zipoli had already attended two years of philosophy and in 1724 three more years of that subject and three of the four years of theology. Father Furlong was not able to show why Zipoli would not have completed his fourth year in 1724, to be shortly afterword consecrated a priest. These courses probably ended at the end of November of the beginning of December; the novices subsequently went to spend the vacation in the estate of Santa Catalina, one of the 5 great land holdings of the Collegio Maggiore of Córdoba. Zipoli would have been able to be ordained at the end of the year 1725, but the bishop in charge, Alonso Pozo y Silva, left his diocese on 9 October 1724 to assume the office of the archbishop of Santiago, Chile, whereas his successor, Juan Sarricolea y Olea, had delayed a year in replacing him. In the register of 1724 Domenico Zipoli's health was considered "integra." It is supposed that the registers were compiled at the end of each year of study, accompanied also with the results of a medical visit. It is more probable that the disease ("maligna tabe"), not diagnosable at the beginning of the year, would have clear results at the end and that he had progressed so rapidly as to prevent him from the exercise of his musical duties and the pursuit of his studies, moreover constraining him to complete inactivity. The medical resources of the time were very limited. The disease tuberculosis was feared, but the method to combat it was inadequate; in spite of the fact that the Jesuit libraries would have contained a good deal of medical books, the cures consisted of the isolation of the sick person and of the administration of some traditional medicines. The various orders spread out in fear of contagious sicknesses and particularly pulmonary disease all of which came from some decades later: those of Ferdinand VII in 1737, those of the Grand Duchy of Florence in 1754, those of the Republic of Lucca in 1767, those of Venice in 1772, and those of Naples in 1782. With respect to Argentina, it is necessary to wait until 1785 in the Viceroyalty of Sobremonte. [21]

In the previously cited Litterae annuae Provinviae Paraquariensis (1720-1730), one reads that "absoluto Theologiae quadrienno, nec sacris tamen iniciatus ob Episcopi defectum": he might have remained as confirmed at the conclusion of his studies, missing only the ordination by the bishop's absence. Moreover, this important document, it is only read in folio 6 recto, without dealing with 6 verso. As we have already anticipated in the previous pages, in Argentina they passed judgments hurriedly enough about facts which instead merit serious reflection.

Father Furlong, basing it upon the state of Zipoli's health in 1724, attributed his death to a fall from a horse or to a sunstroke at the Jesuit estate of Santa Catalina. The historian of the Society, Father Diego González, noted the death of Zipoli in these terms: "Est. Córdoba, 1726."[22] Father Furlong interpreted the first abbreviation as *estancia*, discounting that the death had been verified in Santa Catalina. I pointed out to him that this abbreviation could have signified *estudiante* (that is to say, a student). The Society as owner of 5 estates in the vicinity of Córdoba, for which reason it would be logical and necessary to state in which one of them it was that the death happened which was verified as 2 January 1726, as shown by the death notice. Santa Catalina is 50 kilometers from Córdoba. It seems improbable enough that Zipoli, already ill, would have been transported in an ox cart such a distance to be abandoned to his fate; on the contrary, the administrative books of the estate, examined by us for the period in which he would have been found, showed that the personnel and the black slaves went to Córdoba to visit the doctor. We might be somewhat able to suppose that as the gravity of his condition increased, he would have been moved to some location closer to Córdoba where it would be easier to help him. The fact that the estate of Santa Catalina often would have been the destination for rest and the cure of illness doesn't justify that a tuberculosis patient of such great prestige would have been transferred to it. Upon the death of the historian Father Lozano, occurring many years later, an inventory of all his goods and his library was made, of great value, they were distributed between the Collegio maggiore and various mission villages. We might be able to suppose that the student Zipoli died without leaving material goods, in conformity with his innate modesty, but we would not be able to believe that he would not have proceeded to make at least an inventory of his compositions. It is our opinion that they would have been disseminated between the Church of the Collegio maggiore and Yapeyú, a mission village that is revealed by its extraordinary dedication to musical activity. It is also reasonable to suppose that Zipoli, from time to time had received music of other contemporary composers from Europe at his request or by decision of his superiors. And to this point, it seems opportune to cite this peculiar characteristic noted in the obituary, that was omitted by Father Furlong who reproduced only the first part in the document of Monaco: [22]

> He was of totally peaçeful character and manners, and therefore he was loved by God and man. His eyes always denoted a most chaste attitude: he hardly lifted them to observe the face of a man, much less that of a woman. With diverse forms of devotion, he honored his guardian angel and he believed that by means of this angel he obtained the piety that appeared in him as an innate gift. All his actions proved to be subordinate to the will of his superiors, he solicited their permission even for the most insignificant things. In speech, he referred solely to religious problems, and the companions who listened to him "hung from his lips." Consumed by a malignant illness, which afflicted him all year, he committed his soul to God placidly, as he was in this world. [23]

Isn't the resultant, vivid description that Father Lozano sketches of Zipoli admirable? It is for us to comprehend many of his attitudes, making us remove episodes that have been attributed to him and which turn out to be unreliable in a creature so pure and humble, such as the violent encounter with Alessandro Scarlatti and instead giving us reasons for his dramatic decision to join the catechized ranks of the Society of Jesus.

It also remains to ask ourselves, under the musical sketch, what the conditions found by Zipoli in the Córdoba of the time might have been, populated at that period of time by scarcely 200 families. The musical services, in all the churches, and not only in that of the Collegio maggiore, of the chapels of the convents and monasteries and ultimately to the cathedral, were practiced by black slaves. In addition, the majority of

these were also taught a trade: barber, cobbler, tailor, so that they might contribute to their own maintenance. It was also common to allow them to be hired, both for musical functions and for the characteristic tasks of the craft that they practiced.

On certain occasions, children of color were invited to improve themselves in the mission villages. Here, the musical activity and the building of every kind of instrument had reached a very notable point of development. They performed dances with considerable choreographies, to music that has not reached us, performed by young Indians with a precision that excited the astonished attention of the spectators. Some of these musical groups were sent by land to Córdoba or by river to Santa Fé or to Buenos Aires, so that they would have been able to know their command of each musical sector, both religious and for entertainment, the latter destined to accompany the dinners of the superiors of the Society, often in the presence of civil authorities and other religious groups, for the purpose of demonstrating the incredible progress attained with the groups of natives, who a little time before, in extremely primitive conditions, went through the regions still sparsely populated with Spaniards, killing them.

At this opportune time, we return ourselves to the citation of the excerpt that Father Lozano dedicated to the musical activity of Zipoli in Córdoba still in the Annuas of 1720-1730:

> He worked with extreme diligence so that the festivals would be celebrated with musical accompaniment, both religious and secular, with incredible satisfaction, as much to the Spaniards as the neophytes, without causing suffering to his studies to which he was dedicated suffering, resulting therefore in the entirely normal progress that he realized in philosophy as well as theology. Excited by the pleasure of listening to him, an immense group filled our church on all the religious festivals. [24]

We would imagine a Zipoli of medium stature, as appears on his passport, lean and even of fragile physical condition. As far as we would be able to believe that point, he must have manifested and multiplied the proper energy and patience to attain such noteworthy results facing the population and his superior. The stories are well known of the 2 great missionary figures originating from the German-speaking countries, fathers Antonio Sepp and Florian Paucke, both expert musicians. [25] The latter arrived in Córdoba in 1749, to assume the responsibility, once he finished his studies, of the missionary to the Abipone Indians where he developed an extraordinary work. Prior to his departure, he was required to direct the church choir and to write a mass for the feast of St. Ignatius. Throughout the rehearsals, it happened that the choir, made up of 20 singers from the children, youth, and adults, performed everything from memory since they weren't able to read the notes; in spite of this, they held the score sheets in their hands, simulating reading it. This happened 24 years after the death of Zipoli. It is still true that the disciplinary level reached by a choral and instrumental group bereft of appropriate, responsible guidance, can decline with great rapidity if it could not count on an adequate successor; nevertheless, it must be considered that none of that which Zipoli must have taught in his compound would have been able to finally be handed down to the time of Father Paucke and his sad experience.

The result that Father Paucke obtained in his work to spread musical education among the young Abipones was quite different: they became enthused in their interpretation of the violin, which they practiced continuously in the application of trills, appogitura, and mordents. From all this one can deduce that Zipoli must have wrestled with identical inconveniences and worse doubts. On one side, his studies, particularly severe with the Jesuits and the training of the chorus must have demanded considerable

effort, to which was added the fatigue of composition to meet the requests of the mission villages where there were copyists ready to reproduce the works and send them to other places more or less distant. Zipoli must have possessed a great steadfastness of character and a profound religious vocation to come to grips with such obstacles; one can not imagine more of a contrast than that which existed between the activity that he displayed in Rome and the life that he led in Córdoba.

Time remains for us to make some observations about the creative activity of Zipoli in Córdoba during the period of seven years and months (August 1717 - December 1724), that we would suppose were intensely dedicated to the theological studies and to composition, considering that during the whole of 1725 he was in extremely pitiful condition. We know that his works, both those brought from Italy and those written in Córdoba, are all lost. The Mass in F found in the Cathedral of Sucre by Robert Stevenson, but copied in Potosí in 1784, is a fragment, proving to be missing the *Benedictus* and the *Agnus Dei*, but it is not doubtful that it was written in Córdoba. It was transcribed by the author of these works and performed in Buenos Aires, Prato, Rome, and other cities of the western world.

Father Peramás has left us a trace that illuminates the esteem bestowed on Zipoli's compositions beyond the mere considerable group of missions:

> *Verum dum alios atque ad templum concentus (quiinde usque a principe urbe Americae Meridialis Lima per immensa verium intervalla misso tabellario periti ab eo sunt) componit.* [26]

Father Laurencio Rillo recommends in his memorial, written in the mission village of Itapuàn, March 20, 1728:

> *Apliquese al Organo un indo llamado Joseph que aprendio en Cordoua, de suerte que esta sea su quotidiana, continua, y pricipal ocupación, y enseñe algun otro Muchacho, y si hechare menos los papelese del Hermano Zipoli se podrá embiar a alguno que los traslade en el Yapeyú en donde se le prestaran con liberalidad.*
>
> (An Indian named Joseph perfomred on the organ which he learned in Córdoba [certainly a student of Zipoli] so that this was his daily, principal, and continual occupation, and he also taught another boy, and if they will come to miss the papers of Brother Zipoli, they will be able to send for some because they would be conveyed from Yapeyú, from where they will be able to be loaned with liberality.) [27]

Here we have proof that a good part of the works left by Zipoli were deposited in Yapeyú.

In 1721, in the Libro de Oficio of the procurator of the Province, there appeared an organist by the name of Ignazio, who must also have performed the duties of a tailor, since he was awarded 2 pesos and 4 reales for needlework that he carried out. These organist, save a few exceptions, in the interior of colonial Argentina, turned out to be no older than 14 or 15 years of age. To teach the fundamental principles of music to each other, a monochord was used. We can imagine the result that they were able to obtain from these youths, and only in a role of accompaniment, in the ecclesiastical service for all of their days.

In the inventory compiled on the occasion of the expulsion of the Society in 1767

one reads, referring to the missions of San Pedro and San Pablo:

> *Missas diversas en solfa hasta viente y una, visperas seis, sonatas entre nuevase y viejas cincuenta y tres [...] Motets del autor Zipoli nueve.*
>
> Various masses in solfeggio, twenty one, six vespers, sonatas, both old and new, fifty three [...] Motets by the author Zipoli, nine. [28]

We have included the previous two lines to show the reader of what the musical fortune of a mission village consisted in 1767.

It is possible that due to the continuous requests for music for the regular service of the mission villages, Zipoli must have dedicated adequate attention to it resulting instead in the weak possibility of writing more important works. Professor Samuel Claro, a Chilean musicologist of great experience, found in the mission village of Moxos in November 1966, a Tantum Ergo and a Litania by Zipoli. [29] Among the 5,500 pages of partially destroyed music I discovered in the missions of the Chiquitos Indians, there appeared 7 vespers and a copy of the Mass in F already cited. Without a doubt, the works of Zipoli were continually transferred across the vast territory of colonial Argentina. Still after his death, his compositions wandered across the immensity of the territory, at the requests of various musical compounds up to the decisive moment of the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1767.

It is even more probable that Zipoli had written music for sacramental acts, farces, and scenic representations interpreted by the novices of Córdoba and by young, renowned dancers of the missions. But we must recognize that the proof for us to be able to confirm this hypothesis is missing.

It is evident that considering the authority of the Collegio maggiore, it did not prove to be convenient to send Zipoli, inasmuch as he completed his studies and was ordained a priest, to one of the mission villages. He lacked the indispensable qualities to manage the thousands of Indians present in each mission and to find solutions to the infinite cases that could be presented. For tasks of this type, it proved to be necessary to send giants of the stature of a Sepp, Dobrizhoffer, Schmid, Paucke, and others, of an enviable capacity and energy. The policy might also have been maintained to favor the development of the professional capacity of the architect fathers Bianchi and Primoli. The criteria must not have been much different with respect to the organist and composer Zipoli. The Collegio maggiore was not able to boast of a talent apparently lost on American soil, but incorporated in the carrying out of the Counter Reformation left by the famous St. Ignatius of Loyola: an exercise in which music also occupied a position of primary importance.

Opera Omnia of Domenico Zipoli

Works found in Europe

Sonata d'Intavolatura per Organo e Cimbalo, Rome 1716.

Idem, Hare and Walsh Edition, successive ones only by Walsh, London from 1725-1755.

Dell'offese a vendicarmi cantata for soprano and continuo, Lansdesbibliothek Dresden (reconstruction and transcription by Francisco Curt Lange, 1945).

Works composed in Italy and not discovered

Sara in Egitto	Lent 1708	Florence
Sant' Antonio da Padova	Lent 1712	Rome
Santa Caterina, vergine e martire	Palm Sunday 1714	Rome
Vespri e Messa di San Carlo	November 1710	Rome
Idem	November 1712	Rome
Idem	November 1713	Rome

Works discovered in South America

Messa in fa for 3 voices, violins, organ and continuo, copied in Potosí in 1784 (reconstruction and transcription by Francisco Curt Lange, 1970).

Nove Mottetti, Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Jesuitica (cited only, documentation disappeared).

Tantum Ergo and Litania, Missions of the Moxos Indians.

Sette Vespri and Messa in fa, (Identical to the Potosí version), Missions of the Chiquitos Indians.

It remains for us to mention the discovery brought about by Susan Elizabeth Erickson-Block, doctoral candidate at Cornell University, in the course of her research for the thesis The Keyboard Music of Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726), presented in August 1975. The work, of exceptional interest and value, refers, among many other interesting analytic aspects, to a curious manuscript in the care of the Biblioteca Communale Mozzi-Borgetti di Macerata, number 184861. The author (Erickson) is indebted to professor Claudio Sartori about information regarding this document. It was extracted from an anonymous manuscript from the 18th century that was nevertheless reproduced from every indication, in 65 pages of musical score, a kind of preliminary draft of the Roman edition of the Sonata d'Intavolatura. It might have resulted, according to the author, from an incomplete copy and a poor transcription of the 1716 edition; we might also happen to be facing a first version composed by Zipoli prior to the definitive edition.

That she might have been dealing with a first version is supported by the fact that it contained three pages that did not figure in the 1716 edition; besides, there are omissions and differences registered in it that must have been corrected in the definitive Roman edition. The score is concluded with a curious monogram that might have represented Zipoli's signature: the letter "e" in the word "Fine" is extended in a sign under which a "z" is superimposed. Since we have no autograph text of Zipoli, nothing definitive can be affirmed in a convincing form.

So much as for the Sonata for violin as much as the Cantata and the Mass in F are copyists versions that present numerous errors that the author would certainly not have either introduced or admitted. Moreover, if indeed we are dealing with an original manuscript, prior to the Roman edition, we will find facing us the authentic handwriting of Zipoli. A palaeographic comparison between his expressed signature in the organist section of the Congregazione de Santa Cecilia and those initials, allows us to adjust for common elements between the "f" and the "z". In both cases we would find facing us a somewhat rigid handwriting, characteristic of whom traces and characteristics with a certain slowness.

So much for the young scholar (Erickson). For our part, after having examined the manuscripts through a journey accomplished to Macerata, we have come to the conclusion that we are indeed dealing with an original manuscript of Zipoli, owing to the general characteristics common to the signature and to that document. Nevertheless, it might also be the handwriting of a copyist since the handwriting is very good, and only the word "Fine" could have been the tracing of the author. We are not able to know if Zipoli used a handwriting different than his signature in his manuscript, as is arrived in the only certain autograph that we have of his.

Essential Bibliography*

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Id., "La música eclesiástica en Córdoba durante la dominación hispánica", in Revista de la Universidad nacional de Córdoba, XLII (1955), number 2-5, and XLIII (1956), number 1-2 (see the chapter "La Compañía de Jesús en Córdoba" and the paragraph "Consideraciones en torno a Domenico Zipoli", pages 60-114 and 106-114, respectively).

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Id., "Der Fall Domenico Zipoli, Verlauf und Stand einer Berichtigung", in Musicae Scientiae Collectanea. Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer, Köln, Arno-Volk-Verlag, 1973, pages 327-355.

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* The writings already listed in the text are not listed here.

Notes:

[1] William C. Smith, A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh During the Years 1695-1720, London, Oxford University Press, 1948 (a second volume, dedicated to the next period, has not yet appeared). John Walsh died 15 March 1736, and his son, of the same name, heir to the firm, [died] 15 January 1766. The removal of the associate Hare was before the publication of the second part of the Intavolatura.

[2] Guillermo Furlong, S.J., Los Jesuítas y la cultura Ríoplatense, Montevideo, 1933.

[3] Lauro Ayestarán, "Domenico Zipoli, el gran compositor y organista romano del 1700 en el Rio de la Plata", in Revista Histórica, XXXV, second series, volume 13, number 37, Montevideo, August 1941. Ayestarán is principally based on the information related by Father J. N. Peramás in his Diario del Viaje de los Expatriados de Córdoba, a manuscript which actually disappeared, that was found in the College of the Society of Jesus in Granada (Santo Domingo), and on the work De vita et moribus tredcim virorum paraguaycorum, Faenza, 1793. A copy exists of the first work.

[4] Communal Archive of Prato, Vaccheta dei Battezzati nel Duomo di Prato, 52, 46 verso. A second, abbreviated reference is found in the communal archive of that city, in the Indice dei Battezzati, number 8, sheet 35 verso.

[5] Bayrisches Staatsarchiv, München, "Missionbriefe auf Paraguay, Jesuitica", Provinciae Paraquariae Societatis Jesu Ab anno MDCCXX ad mensem Octobrem anni MDCCXXX missae ad R. ad [...] P. N. Francescum Retz, Societatis ei[usde] Vicarium Generalem, sheet 5 verso and 6 anverso (recto).

[6] Auguste and Aloys de Backer, Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie Jesus, Liège, 1856, volume III, column 1722; Carl Sommervogel, Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus, Bruxelles-Paris, 1890-1909, volume VIII, column 1511; Ernest Revière, Corrections et additions à la Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus, Suplement au De Backer-Sommervogel, Toulouse, 1911, column 1248.

[7] Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufname der Musik, volume 1-5, 1754-62 and 1778, page 558 (cited solely in reference to the French organist Corrette, to whom is attributed, without proof, of appropriating the works of Zipoli, publishing them under his own name: Ernst Ludwig Gerber, Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler, Leipzig, 1790-1792, volume II; Robert Eitner, Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon, volume 9, pages 357-358 (new edition, Graz 1959).

[8] Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, Domenico Zipoli, Sonate d'Intavolatura per Organo e Cimbalo, Orgel und Cembalowerke nach dem Urtext herausgegeben [...], 2 books, prolog, pages VII-VIII, ed. Willy Müller, Süddeutscher Musikverlag, Heidelberg, no date.

[9] Renzo Fantappié, "Domenico Zipoli, Aggiunte alla biografia", in Prato, Sotria e Arte, XI, number 28 (September 1970), pages 5-26.

[10] Editore Vangelisti, Florence 1708, Bibloteca Marucelliana, various paging, number 2234.

[11] Remo Giazotto, Quattro secoli di storia dell'Accademia nazionale di Santa Cecilia, volume I, pages 423-425. Zipoli's signature on the side of the payments affected for "Sig.ri Organisti" are indisputibly authentic.

[12] Curia attached to San Giovani in Laterano, Archivio, volume 43, page 364.

[13] Publisher Antonio de' Rossi, 1712; Civico museo bibliografico musicale di Bologna.

[14] Giovanni Battista Grapelli of Frosinone was called Melanto Arateo in the Arcadia, later Arateo. Publisher Domenico Antonio Ercole in Parione, 1714; Biblioteca nazionale centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome.

[15] Tito Livio, Le Storie di Roma, Book I, chapters 58-59.

[16] Archivio romano della Compagnia di Gesù, Rome, envelope 151.

[17] San Giovanni in Laterano, Archive, Salariati della Cappella dell Musica; see also Siegfried Gmeinwieser, "Die Musikkapellen Roms un Afführungspraxis unter Guiseppe Ottavio Pitoni", in Kirchenmusickalisches Jahrbuch, 57th annual, Köln, 1973, pages 69 and after.

[18] Archivio romano della Compagnia di Gesù, 1036, number 1, Registro di stati abituali e cataloghi del Noviziato di S. Andrea. Libro dell'Ingresso delli Novizi. Ingressus Novitiorum 1705-1741, volume 175.

[19] Archivo general de Indias, Documentos de embarque, 19 December 1716: "These are the expenses that they have done for the collegiates from where they left to get to Seville for which they are given seven Reales per day, counted for rectification of the Superiors of the Colleges from where they left and adjusting to eight leagues per day [...]." (Audiencia de Characas, 1716-12-19, library number 76-5-8 (modern 382); page 355.

[20] Archivo general de Indias, Contratación de Sevilla, 1717, library number 76-5-8 (modern 382); page 355.

[21] Enrique Aznárez, "Legislación sanitaria en Córdoba en el siglo XVIII", in Revista Médica de Córdoba, LVII, volume 57, numbers 1-2, January-December 1969, pages 159-162.

[22] Father Diego González, Catálogo de la que fue Provincia del Paraguay desde la intimación del arresto en el mes del Julio de 1767, manuscript in the Archive of Loyola-Oña, Azpeita, Spain.

[23] Bayerusches Hauptstaatsarchiv, München, Jesuitica.

[24] *Ibidem.*

[25] See principally Father Florian Paucke, Zwettler-Codex 420 von Pater Florian Paucke S.J. / Hin und Her / Hin süsse, und vergnügt, Her bitter un betrübt [...], chapter 11: Mein Aufenhalt und Unterhaltung in Cirduba, Vienna, 1959, pages 219-220.

[26] Guillermo Furlong S.J., José Manuel Peramás y su Diario del Destierro, Buenos Aires, 1952, page 113.

[27] Archivo general de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Compañia de Jesus, 1732.

[28] Francisco Xavier Brabo, Invetarios de los bienes hallados, a la expulsión de los Jesuítas y occupación de sus temporalidades por decreto de Carlos III [...], Madrid, 1872.

[29] Samuel Claro, La Música en las missiones jesuíticas de Mojos, Santiago, Chile, 1969.

Becheri, Roberto. "Domenico Zipoli." Notes in edition of Dell'offese a vendicarmi. Padova: Edizioni G. Zanibon, 1985.

Born in Prato the 17th of October 1688 and while still young he began his musical study with kapellmeisters O. Termini, S. Falagiani, and Giovan Francesco Becatelli who is considered to be his first true teacher. In September 1707, he went to Firenze to perfect his study under the guidance of Giovanni Maria Casini and the following year he came to be represented in the oratorio Sara in Egitto composed by 24 authors in which G. M. Casini, A. Caldera, F. Veracini, and A. Scarlatti figured other than Zipoli (whose music was 2 arias of the Pharaoh).

At the end of the year he went to Naples to study with A. Scarlatti, but at the end of 1709, "he fled because of sharp differences"[1] of character repairing to Bologna in the care of the master F. L. Vannucci. At last he moved to Rome to the school of B. Pasquini, and there resided with an illustrious distinction during which he is affirmed as organist and composer. In fact, in the year 1710, he would come to complete his Vespri and Messa (later repeated in 1712 and 1713 in honor of St. Charles) at San Carlo ai Catinari; he performed his oratorios San Antonio di Padova (in 1713 in Santa Maria in Vallicella) and Santa Caterina Vergine e Martire (in 1714 in San Girolama della Carità); he attained a steady position as organist at the Church of Jesus [*Il Gesù*] (1715) and published his work Sonate d'Intavolature per Organo e Cimbalo (January 1, 1716).[2]

The position at the Church of Jesus, the inevitable entry into the Roman parlors and the numerous performances of his music, Zipoli showed us a good start on a career, yet at the same time the decision that he took in th course of 1716 appears to be very improvised - he became a Jesuit and departed for the missions. At the beginning of June 1716, Zipoli actually joined in Seville, where he started his novitiate and a year later, April 5, 1717, he embarked with other musicians from Cadíz which brought him to the Rio de la Plata. In August, he arrived in Córdoba (modern Argentina) and he settled near the monastery of the Society of Jesus where he pursued his theological studies without abandoning his musical activity.

Until today, the following have been located in that region: a Mass (for chorus, 2 violins and basso continuo), a Litania, a Tantum Ergo, and about eight Vespers. In addition, another two valuable works have been brought to light in Germany: Dell'offese a vendicarmi[3] and the present Sonata, which were presumably composed in the beginning of 1717, the year in which he left Europe for the missions. Down there, in 1725, he contracted tuberculosis and transferred to the Estancia of Santa Catalina, dying there on the second of January 1726.

I examined the manuscript of the previously mentioned cantata of which the only known copy is in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. The basso continuo realization, being too elaborate, doesn't take away from the performer the possibility of the practice of improvisation.

Notes:

[1] G. B. Martini, Scrittori di musica - Notizie storiche e loro opere, Manuscript preserved in the Archive of the Convent of San Francesco di Bologna, I, p. 557.

[2] D. Zipoli, Sonate d'Intavolatura per Organo e Cimbalo, Rome 1716. Successively published in London by Walsh and Hare in 1731 (only the second part of the work). Modern editions are taken care of

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[3] D. Zipoli, Sonate per violino e b. c., edited by R. Becheri, Edizioni G. Zanibon, Padova, 1985.

Bibliographic Notes

The essays and articles on Domenico Zipoli published to this date are numerous. One finds an exhaustive enough bibliography in: AA. VV., Domenico Zipoli organista e compositore Pratese, Pistoia, 1981.

Nevertheless, I can't forget the name of F. J. Fetis who has compiled the first biography of Zipoli (in the edition of the Sonate ... edited by A & L Farrenc cited in note 2); L. Ayestarán, who in his Domenico Zipoli el gran compositor y organista ... (Montevideo, Impresora Uruguaya, 1941) has given a beginning to the study in Latin America; the authoritative voices of M. Mila (Breve Storia della Musica, Torino 1946), F. Torrefranca ("Domenico Zipoli Toscano di Prato", Arte Mediterranea, series III, March-April, 1949), A. Della Corte ("Zipoli in Prato'. La Nazione, Firenze 14 October 1959) and L. F. Tagliavini (see note 2) who have opened the debate even in Italy; and finally, R. Fantappiè ("Domenico Zipoli, aggiunte alla biografia", Prato Storia e Arte, XI, 1970, number 28), F. C. Lange ("Der Fall Domenico Zipoli, Verlaus und Stand einer Berichtigung", Musicae Scientiae Collectanea - Festschrift K. G. Feller, Köln 1973), and A. Varotti ("Domenico Zipoli e l'ambiente musicia della sua terra di missione" in AA. VV., previously cited).

E.4

Jorge Hirt Preiss, Música nas Missiones Jesuíticas nos Séculos XVII e XVIII (Porto Alegre, Brazil: Martins Livreiro-Editor, 1988), 52-53.

Born in the region of Tuscany in October of 1688, Zipoli moved to Rome where, in 1712 and 1714, he wrote 2 oratorios: S. Antonio and S. Catarina, vergine e martire. In 1715 he became the organist of the Church of Jesus [*Il Gesù*]. In 1716 he published his first work, Sonate d'Intavolatura per organo e cimbalo, a collection of pieces for clavier and organ. The same year he went to Seville and became a novice in the Society of Jesus. In April 1717, he left, as a missionary, for the Province of Paraguay establishing himself in Córdoba, where he continued his studies of theology and philosophy and at the same time to the activities of composer and organist in the church of the Jesuits. His fame and influence as an artist rapidly surpassed the limits of Córdoba, since (they) requested by mail that he send his compositions. Among those interested was the Viceroy of Peru himself. At the height of those activities, soon after completing his theological studies and being ordained a priest, he died in January 1726, at 37 years of age, in Buenos Aires. A few years later a mass and various cantatas by Zipoli were discovered by the Jesuit researcher, Father Clement McNaspy, which had to have been a mass already performed in various South American cities like Asuncion and Posadas.

Magistrato de' Nove, n. 1191
1) c. 116.

Royal Highness,

Domenico Zipoli of Prato, most humble subject of Your Royal Highness, reverently supposes to be instructed in the study of music, and desiring to advance in this [study], he would move to the city of Florence, where there are many teachers and opportunities to practice the profession, to become capable as a kapellmeister or organist, if the situation arose there and to better serve in the states of Your Royal Highness. But fitting expenses not being allowed to the speaker, being poor, he appeals to the summary clemency of Your Royal Highness, to grant him six scudi per month for charitable assistance in the entry into Livorno i Cepppi of Prato this year; who for this grace he will always be having to ask and asking for his numerous family every great happiness and greatness of all the Serene house, etc. Quam Deus, etc.

They would give him 3 scudi per month for a year.
Francesco Panciatichi, 12 September 1707

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Magistrato de' Nove, n. 1192.
1) c. 467.

Royal Highness,

Domenico Zipoli of Prato, most humble servant and subject of Your Royal Highness, humbly asks to be pardoned of a charitable subsidy of 3 scudi per month of the entrance this year to the Ceppi of the same city of Livorno, to be able to maintain himself in another city, and to perfect and to render himself capable to be able to practice an office of kapellmeister or also an organist, to be able to serve in the states of Your Royal Highness better. Therefore, he begs your summary clemency to reconfirm him at the pleasure of Your Royal Highness, not having obtained it for a year, and not being able to bring to an end his studies already undertaken because of his poverty; he will always be having to ask His Divine Majesty for each greater happiness and greatness of all the Serene house. Who of the grace etc. Quam Deus etc.

They would give him 3 scudi per month for a year.
Francesco Panciatichi, 28 July 1708

APPENDIX B

Arizaga, Rodolfo. Enciclopedia de la música argentina. Buenos Aires : Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1971; p 328-9.

Zipoli, Domenico (1688-1725)

Organist and composer, born in Prato of Tuscany, Italy. He was the kapellmeister of the church, Il Gesú, in Rome, he decided to join the Society of Jesus with the purpose of working in the missions in Paraguay. In July of 1717, he arrived at the port of Buenos Aires to later continue on to Córdoba and there complete his ecclesiastical studies, which he did not finish, owing to a premature death caused, it is believed, by an accident. Yet before he left on course for America, he had developed an outstanding musical work in Rome - not only as an organist and choir director (moreover, he was an excellent improviser), but also as a composer. In 1716, one year before the sea voyage, he published a collection of pieces with the title of Sonate d'intavolatura per organo o cimbalo, his single musical work recognized as authentic to date. Others whose legitimacy has not been proven have been attributed to him. He also published the treatise Principa seu elementa ad bene pulsandum organum et cimbalum. During his stay in Rome, he premiered 2 oratorios: Sant' Antonio and Santa Caterina vergine e martire, whose libretto is preserved in the Victor Emmanuelle II Library of that city [Rome]. When he settled in Córdoba, he occupied the post of organist of the Jesuit church and wrote numerous musical pieces for his religious office, most of which have not yet been able to be identified. Through a discovery by the North American musicologist Robert Stevenson in 1960, who found in the Archivo Capitular del Cabildo Eclesiástico of the city of Sucre, in Bolivia, the copy of a mass for a chorus of 3 voices with vocal solos, 2 violins, organ, and basso continuo - attributed to Domenico Zipoli and written down in Potosí in the year 1784. In the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, the manuscript of another of the scarce works of this composer is preserved: the cantata for soprano and basso continuo, Delle offese a vendicarmi. According to oral tradition, the nuns of the convent of Santa Catalina of Córdoba sing a Credo attributed to the Tuscan musician. We do not know the exact site where is remains lie, which were buried on the property of the vacation home that the Jesuits owned some 50 kilometers from the city of Córdoba.

Auza León, Atiliano. Historia de la música boliviana. Cochabama, Bolivia: Los Amigos del Libro, 1985. p. 69-70.

However, the production of sacred music continued filling up the archives of the Cathedral at Sucre, among them the names of Antonio Duran de la Motta, Domenico Zipoli, and Antonio Leyseca, however we'll only mention the most important ones for the moment.

Domenico Zipoli

Born in Prato (Tuscany), on the 11th of October 1688 and died in Córdoba (Argentina) on the 2nd of January 1726 at 38 years of age, 9 (years) after he had set foot on American soil for the first time as a missionary.

Zipoli was a renowned organist and a noteworthy composer. His music was similar to that of Frescobaldi. At the time when this master was at the height of his musical and missionary activity, he received requests and commissions for masses, Te Deums, and for other diverse occasions. Father Lozano says this about the compositional productivity of Zipoli: "He composed different compositions for the church, even some for the Viceroy of Lima (a city in South America), since great distances were covered by mail." Which means, on the other hand, that the copies made in Potosí of some of Zipoli's masses in 1784, were loaned at the request of some of the ecclesiastic authorities and copied in house (by hand) for the Potosí musicians; some of these have been discovered in the Archive of the Cathedral at Sucre and in the Church of Ignacio de Moxos in Beni (other locations for the sacred and profane music of the period) which included a Mass for 3 voices, a Letania, an Exaudinos, and a Tantum Ergo.

Axel Roldan, Waldemar. Música colonial en la Argentina. Buenos Aires: Librería "El Ateneo" Editorial, 1987. S. v. "Domenico Zipoli", 19-22.

Father José Manuel Peramás was born in Mataró Spain in 1732 and joined the Society of Jesus in 1747. Following the conclusion of his studies in philosophy, he asked to sent to the missions. Prior to performing the duties as priest in San Ignacio Mini, he ended his course of study in Córdoba in Tucuman, a city to which he returned for a short time to serve as a professor of literature, which he practiced at the insistence of César Cordara, who saw in Peramás an admirable talent for a humanist, while reading the Annuas that were sent to Rome. Various additional important writings of this Jesuit were preserved in which the lives of illustrious Jesuits are described.

In 1793, Peramás wrote in Faenza that:

> in some cities we didn't have any other music than that of the servants of the Jesuits. Some priests who had come from Europe were excellent at that art [music] had gone to the province, they had taught the Indians of the villages to sing and the Negroes of the college to play sonorous instruments. But none of them was more illustrious or accomplished than Domenico Zipoli, formerly a Roman musician, in whose perfect harmony nothing sweeter or more artistically crafted could be imagined.
>
> Furthermore, he composed various compositions for the church (which were requested from the same principal city of South America, Lima, sent across vast distances by special messenger) and while he was at the same time devoted to the most serious study of letters, he died to the great grief of all; and in truth, when one had heard a little bit of the music of Zipoli, nothing else could have been more pleasant; something like when one eats honey and then is made to eat some other food - as a result it is less agreeable and not pleasing. He died in Córdoba in Tucuman in 1725. His works are left behind.[22]

Without a doubt the most important musician, for his time, for the work for which he is known - unfortunately of the works of Sepp, Paucke, and Schmidt, of whom we know that they were composers or at least that they were obliged to write musical works, nothing has been discovered - by the esteem and admiration that he aroused as a musician in his missionary colleagues, Domenico Zipoli unquestionably excels in every way.

He was born in the city of Prato in 1688 and beginning in 1700, he received the first (music) lessons from the kapellmeister of the Cathedral of Florence. He was sent to study with Alessandro Scarlatti, but the relationship of master and pupil lasted a short time. In Bologna, he worked with Lavinio Vanucci and (then) went to Rome after he was 22 years old (where) he completed his education and training with Bernardo Pasquini. In 1714, he premiered the oratorio Saint Catherine virgin and martyr, a work that had been preceded by another oratorio, Saint Anthony, written in 1712. One of his most diffuse compositions, the Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo, is from 1716, the year in which Zipoli held the position of organist at the Chiesa del Gesú in Rome, and later went to Seville where he joined the novitiate of the Society of Jesus in the month of July. When the Jesuits organized a great expedition to the Río de la Plata in the first months of 1717, Zipoli became part of it and arrived in Buenos Aires in July of that year. He went to Córdoba a few days after his arrival in Buenos Aires and the illustrious and admirable Italian musician concluded his studies in theology in 1724 in the college that the Order

had in that city - but unfortunately, he couldn't accede to the priesthood because Bishop Alonso de Pozo y Silva had left for Chile where he would occupy the Archbishopric of Santiago and did not have the authority to ordain him [Zipoli].

Regarding the activity that Zipoli developed in Córdoba during the 9 years that he lived in that province, we don't have any testimony that allows us to offer evident and authentic data. Father Laurencio Rillo shows in a document dated 20 March 1728 in Itapua that:

> [...] an Indian named José worked hard at the organ, which he learned in Córdoba, in such a that it would be his daily, continuing, and principal occupation, and that he would instruct some other boy and if he missed some of the writings of Brother Zipoli, they would be liberally loaned to him when they are transcribed in Yapeyú.[23]

Certainly this Indian, José, studied the organ with Zipoli and presumably some of the Negro slaves, who comprised part of the musical service of the churches, Colegio Maximo, or chapels of Córdoba, had received musical training with the illustrious man from La Plata.

As for the works which Zipoli could have written in Córdoba, we have unanimous consensus that the Mass in F, discovered by Dr. Robert Stevenson in the archive of the Cathedral of Sucre, was conceived in Argentina. The Potosí copy says Mass for four voices; nevertheless, we have only found three: soprano, contralto, tenor. Missing are the bass part and also the *Benedictus* and the *Agnus Dei*. The aforementioned work was figured with the number 1208 of the Catalog of Musical Manuscripts of the National Archive of Bolivia, published by UNESCO, a work which we own.

Also written in Córdoba was a Tantum Ergo and a Letania, discovered by Samuel Claro in Moxos [province, Beni department, Bolivia].

In the General Archive of the Nation, we have come across a quotation, in the village of Santos Apostoles (unfortunately we have not found the music), which says the following:

> [...] the musicians of this village had for their use: 3 harps, 4 bassoons, 2 viols, 6 new violins and 8 old, 8 new and 8 old flageolets, also 4 trumpets, 2 oboes, a bassoon, 2 lyres, 2 flutes, a spinet mentioned above, 2 cornets.
>
> They have a large book that is called the Graduale de tempore with all the psalms that they used in the church and all with solfeg printed in Rome. They have 2 missals, 3 breviaries, we have 5 measures, 21 diverse masses in solfeg, 6 vespers, 53 sonatas both new and old and 9 motets by the author Zipoli.[24]

The compositions mentioned, that is the Mass, the Tantum Ergo, the Letania, and the 9 Motets are, with certainty, the works which Zipoli wrote in Córdoba. We believe that they could not be the only works, but on the other hand, as no documents exist that prove the activity that unfolded while he was studying at the Colegio Mayor, neither do we have documentation that (up until now) permits us to speak of other works than those mentioned above.

According to Dr. Lange[25], the "Opera Omnia" of Zipoli are the following:

Works found in Europe:

Sonata d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo, Rome 1716.
Idem, edition by Hade, Hare, and Walsh, London, 1725-1755.
Dell'offese vendicarmi, cantata for soprano and continuo, Landesbibliothek of Dresden (reconstruction and transcription by F.C. Lange, 1945)

Works composed in Italy and not found:

Sara in Egittto, Lent 1708, Florence.
Sant'Antonio de Padova, Lent 1712, Rome.
Santa Catherina, Vergine e Martire, Palm Sunday 1714, Rome.
Idem, November 1713, Rome.

Works found in South America:

Lange enumerates the compositions already mentioned and adds 7 vespers that were said to have been found in the mission of the Chiquitos Indians of Bolivia. In a pamphlet that accompanies the Qualiton recording SQI-4059 (it is fitting that the recording was brought about by the Sonata for violin and continuo), the aforementioned investigator (Lange) relates that said composition was discovered in the Dresden Library, with the number 2213/R/S, and that the version performed on the recording is due to a reconstruction of the sonata that he realized.

Bibliographic Notes:

[22]Domenico Zipoli. Vida y obra, Lauro Ayestarán, Montevideo, 1962, pp.39.

[23]Society of Jesus, A.G.N. (General Archive of the Nation), 1723-1724 Room IX-6.9.6.

[24]Society of Jesus, A.G.N. (General Archive of the Nation), Temporalities 1768. Room IX-22.6.3, File 4, Exp. 22. This is the first time that he cites the data that came from the A.G.N, the fact that it doesn't agree totally with the fact that other authors furnished in regard to the village in which one encounters the motets of Zipoli. Represented also in Room IX-22.9.4, 1768.

[25]Nuova Rivista Italiana, "Storia di una riscoperta", Francisco Curt Lange, Rome, Turin, 1985, pp.224.

Lauro Ayestarán. Domenico Zipoli: vida y obra. Buenos Aires: Pontificia Universidad Catolica Argentina, 1962.

Domenico Zipoli - life and works

The Case of Zipoli

Exactly 21 years ago today, we published a pamphlet in Montevideo entitled "Domenico Zipoli the great Roman composer and organist of the 1700s in the Rio de la Plata." [1] In it, we showed - or tried to show - that the eminent Italian musician, ordained in Rome for a priestly vocation, had joined the Society of Jesus in 1716, arrived in Buenos Aires in July of 1717 and after having remained in Córdoba as a musician of the Jesuit church, and met death in that place on 2 January 1726. And what was more important: his fullest works were probably written, presumably in Córdoba, in the 18th century. In the final analysis, his (theoretically) most productive years - from age 28 to 38 - had occurred in South America in the execution of his office as "church musician."

The "hypothesis" of this investigation is found imprinted in the first 2 paragraphs of that essay which assert:

> As the one who has written these lines had read a few years ago in the book "The Jesuits and the Rioplatenese Culture" by Father Guillermo Furlong (S.J.) a reference to a certain brother Domingo Zipoli, organist of the Jesuit church of Córdoba (Argentina) in the beginning of the 18th century, it occurred to him to think that perhaps it could have dealt with a celebrated composer of the identical name whom musicologists proclaimed as the successor of Frescobaldi and the glory of music for the organ, (and) who mysteriously disappeared from the European musical scene around 1716 (after a collection of his works had been published - which have come down to us - under the title of "Sonate d'intavolatura per organo o (sic) cembalo"). Presently we encountered (thanks to the good work of the distinguished Argentine historian) a series of documents - some of which were copied in the final appendix - which explained the relationship between the life and works of the aforementioned musician who disappeared in Europe and appeared in America at precisely the same time. Comparing these references, our suspicion was completely and fortunately revealed. The humble brother Domingo Zipoli was none other than the magnificent Roman composer and organist, Domenico Zipoli.
>
> And, in the present work we have wanted, upon completing and rectifying (in some cases) the life journey of the Italian musician, to situate [him] in his time and environment, and to spur the Latin American investigator in the search for the lost musical scores of the formidable master composed in these regions; scores whose existence will be proven to he who takes the time to review the lines which are published below.

The pamphlet, [which was] early and weak, was accused of deficiencies, but after 21 years, two fundamental propositions: the presence and death of the eminent Italian composer in Argentina and the presumed discovery of his music in America, not only

what remained standing, but also were strengthened by an extensive documentary apparatus to which distinguished European and American investigators have contributed.

Nevertheless, the chapter about Zipoli is not closed: recently now, the investigation is bearing quite unexpected and impressive fruit that nonetheless upon confronting new evidence will have to be ratified or rectified. Let us humbly think that musical research is hardly a science and that many times "The history of sciences is the history of the progressive elimination of error, that is, of its replacement by a new error, but each time less absurd."

Among the contributions - which is a positive and also a negative sign (which many times explains the theme even more) - we want to dwell on four of them:

First - In May of 1946, Adolfo Salazar published an extensive commentary about our pamphlet in the Mexican journal, "Nuestra Musica" [2]: he called attention to the danger of confusing the European Zipoli with the American [one]. Later, Isidor Philipp adhered to this hypothesis. According to Salazar, the European Zipoli had been born in Nola, near Naples in 1675; the Jesuit documents about the American Zipoli confirmed that he had been born in Prato, near Florence, in 1688:

> The Uruguayan musicologist, Lauro Ayestarán, published in pamphlet form some works that had previously been published in journals of his country. One, which is entitled "Domenico Zipoli, the great Roman composer and organist of the 1700s in the Rio de la Plata", is of special interest because it refers to a curious figure whose life, not well known and surrounded by certain mystery, arouses suspicions. That, despite the temptations that they have already awakened, cannot become a reality due to unreliable dates [...]
>
> [...] Since the Zipoli born in Prato came into the world in 1688, then it follows that he would already be playing the organ in that Roman church at 8 [in 1696] years of age, which is slightly improbable [...]
>
> [...] It is risky to assume that he was the author of the Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo, because literally no mention is made of them [the sonatas] in any of the documentation referring to the Zipoli who died in Argentina and because these sonatas [which] appeared in English edition in 1715 are of an earlier date [...]

On page 13 of our pamphlet it is printed: "From his birthplace, Domenico Zipoli went to Rome about 1696, that is, at 8 years of age." The words are slightly distorted - I don't mean that with any ill will - by Salazar, who was criticized for a typographic error in the journal "Nuestra Musica" where he says that the Sonatas had appeared in an English edition in 1715, when in truth it was the date, 1725, as Salazar knew very well. With all respect and in homage to the enlightened Spanish musicologist, it is a pleasure for me to remember that when our essay "The indigenous music in Uruguay" appeared, Salazar (with an exemplary integrity) took it upon himself to review directly in the libraries of Mexico - one by one, all the historical texts that we would have interpreted to support the ethnomusicological study about the natives [that] for him are as remote as the distant Banta Oriental [i.e., Uruguay] during the period of the Conquest. His critical review was exceptionally generous and almost as extensive as our pamphlet.[3]

But it was not the only fact of an historical affirmation based on a date and a locality which we had taken in the conclusion that Zipoli had been born near Florence

and had worked in Rome: it was, moreover, the evidence that his writing for the organ acknowledges an "evident relationship with the writings of the great organist of San Pedro in Rome, Girolamo Frescobaldi." Towards the beginning of the 18th century, the regional styles were still casting their influence over the Italian artists, to the extent that the Florentine-Roman school of grace and sober distinction, with polished counterpoint and small forms, was easily recognizable from the Venetian [school] of the north, solemn and pompous, with polychoral writing in broad and developed counterpoint. Zipoli evidently belonged to the first of these, to the Florentine-Roman, and this fact corresponds quite well with his presumed birth in Prato. A certain melancholy distinction, on the other hand, distinguishes him from the joyful, free, and enthusiastic articulation of the Neapolitan sonatinas of his contemporary, Domenico Scarlatti. On the other hand, this presumption was not originally ours: Cambarieu had anticipated it at the time in which it was believed that Zipoli had been born in Nqla, near Naples, and that he had been educated in the well known Conservatorio San Pietro a Maiella:

> Briefly there are 3 distinguishing groups among the Italian composers of instrumental music in the first half of the 18th century; the direct successors of Frescobaldi and Pasquini, the teachers of Naples, [and] those of Venice. Of the first group, the most important name is that of Domenico Zipoli, organist (in 1716) of the Jesuit Church in Rome, the author of Sonatas for organ which are suites of sacred and profane pieces in the old meaning of the word sonata. The Paris Conservatory owns a sample.[4]

The first edition of his "Histoire de la musique" dates from 1913 and apparently Cambarieu directly knew the Sonatas of Zipoli, whose teacher [Zipoli's] Bernardo Pasquini was treated with a truly surprising courtesy and depth by the French musicologist in the preceding pages.

Second - And here I have something that quickly produces the first positive contribution of these last 20 years: in the same month of May 1946 in which Salazar published his commentary in Mexico, Victor de Rubertis published (for the first time) the baptismal certificate of Zipoli in Buenos Aires. At the time of the publication of 1941, de Rubertis had sent a letter during the last war to the mayor of Prato requesting the baptismal certificate of one Domenico Zipoli whose birth could have occurred about the month of October 1688. At the end of the war, there arrived in Buenos Aires an authenticated copy of a certificate taken from the "Book of Baptisms of the Cathedral of Prato" that stated this:

> *A di 17 detto - Domenico di Sabatino di Angiolo Zipoli della Cura del Duomo e della Eugenia di Sebastiano Varrochi sua moglie nacqae a hore 7 la notte precedente et il suddetto giorno fu portato alla Cattedrale e da me Curato fue battezzatto. Compare Antonio di Francesco Giullari.* [5]
>
> [Approximate translation: On the aforementioned 17th (of October) - Domenico by Sabatino by Angioli Zipoli of the care of the Cathedral and of Eugenia by Sebastiano Varrochi his (Sabatino's) wife, born the seventh hour on the aforementioned day, is brought to the Cathedral (of Prato) and to me (the priest) to be baptized. Father Antonio by Francesco Giullari.]

In short, a Domenico Zipoli, son of Sabatino Zipoli and Eugenia Varrocchi had been born in the suburbs of Prato - as it specifies besides in the Index of Baptisms of the time - on the 16th of October 1688.

This was, without a doubt, the organist who had died in America since the Jesuit documents stated that he was a native of Prato and that he had been born around 1688.

But, was the Pratenese [i.e., from Prato] Zipoli the Zipoli of the European historians who had been born in Nola?

Third - Here lies the third, fundamental fact: scarcely 3 years ago, in 1959, the organist Luigi Fredinando Tagliavini published his splendid 2 volume revision of the Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo [6] in Heidelberg and in the prolog, he communicated that he had just discovered a sensational manuscript of Father Martini (teacher of Mozart) in the Archive of the Convent of Saint Francis of Bologna, that referred to Zipoli. When Martini published the first volume of his Storia della Musica in Bologna in 1757 (the first general history of music written in the world, after frustrated attempts of Calvisius, Printz, Bontempi, Bonnet-Bourdelot, Malcolm and Prelleur), he was preparing at the same time a dictionary of musical biography which had to be an indispensable supplement to his history. This dictionary, recorded under the title of Scrittori di Musica : Notizie Storiche e loro opere, was completed but never published in Martini's lifetime. Five years ago, the second volume was found in the Archive of the convent of Saint Francis. Fortunately, it was the one that corresponded to the letters N to Z. Martini was 20 years old when Zipoli died; he personally knew all the composers of the time (of Zipoli) and moreover many years after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, he courteously received and helped many of them, most all of who came from Spain or the Spanish possessions in the New World. For this reason, he was in an unsurpassed position to produce the biography of Zipoli. Well then, on page 577 of his manuscript one reads:

> *Domenico Zipoli da Prato apprese i primi principii sotto il Mo di Cappella del Duomo di Frienze, dal Gran Ducca fu mandato a Napoli sotto di Alessandro Scarlatti dal quale scapo per acuta differenza, e si porto in Bologna l'anno 1709, dove fu accolto dal P.D. Lavinio Vannucci Monaco di S. Barbaziano, poscia dal gran duca suddetto fu mandato in Roma sotto Bernardo Pasquini. Nota che quando capito in Bologna aveva 19. anni sicche nato nel 1690. In ultimo si fece Gesuita.*
>
> [Approximate translation: Domenico Zipoli of Prato studied the first rudiments of music with the music director of the Cathedral of Florence and was then sent by the Archduke (of Tuscany) to Alessandro Scarlatti at Naples, whom he soon left on account of strong differences of opinion; in 1709 he went to Bologna, where he was received by P.D. Lavinio , a monk in the monastery of S. Barbaziano, and was finally sent to Rome by the aforementioned Archduke, to Bernardo Pasquini. It is to be noted that he was 19 years old when he arrived at Bologna: he was therefore born in 1690. He finally became a Jesuit. (translation from L. F. Tagliavini's preface to the 1959 edition of the Sonate d'intavolatura [...])]

The European Zipoli became a Jesuit at the end of his stay in Europe, and the only Jesuit Zipoli who existed in the Society was named Domenico, also a musician. Proof and counterproof definitively resolving the unknown quantity.

But all these important documents enlightened the life of Zipoli and satisfied a legitimate historical erudition. The "inner musicologist" was hoping for (somewhat more important): that the investigation would flourish in the discovery of works - especially American ones - of the great composer. And here is the fourth fact:

Fourth - Two years ago, the dismissal of the "case of Zipoli" gave its first positive proof: Dr. Robert Stevenson of the University of California (at Los Angeles) found in the Catipular Archive of the Ecclesiastical Hall in the city of Sucre, Bolivia, a mass for chorus of three voices - soprano, contralto, and tenor - with vocal solos, 2 violins, organ and basso continuo, some of whose parts bore the indication: "Copied in Potosí [in] the year 1784." I deals, then, with a manuscript copy realized 58 years after the death of its author. The first notice of it was communicated in the book The Music of Peru [7] by Stevenson who generously furnished us with a copy for its interpretation and printing in the Rio de la Plata. Lately, thanks to the efficient efforts of the ambassador of Bolivia in Uruguay, Dr. Herman Siles Suazo, we have obtained a clean, photostatic copy of the original which we have placed in the competent hands of maestro Lamberto Baldi for his possible interpretation. Many years ago, Baldi roused us about the publication of our essay of 1941 and later transcribed some pages of the Sonatas of Zipoli for symphonic orchestra.

The first problem that these manuscripts present is the curious title : "for four V.s", which is repeated in several places, when in truth the Mass was for only 3 voices in keeping with the "beloved" Italian style of the 1700s. It is made up of 4 sections: *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, and *Sanctus*. Missing, therefore, is the *Benedictus* and the *Agnus Dei* of the traditional "ordinarium". Presumably, Zipoli did not compose these [ordinary] parts: some of the masses of the time were musically closed by the ending of the *Sanctus*.

A colonial copyist had realized the work but, in keeping with the perfect state of preservation that shows in the photograph [copy], this copy was apparently never interpreted in Potosí and therefore was never corrected. From all indications, we should be grateful to this copyist who saved this mass, whose vocal parts are of noble wealth, quite characteristic of the Italians of the last decades of the 1600s. His writing belongs to the dialog style, dear to the master, inappropriate to a refined and stuffy tendency common to the minor composers of this age. It would resemble Pergolesi, free and youthful, which is an announcement of the gilded classicism.

Suddenly, in the "Cum Sancto Spiritu" of the *Gloria* or in the "Et vitam venturi" of the *Credo* (a fugue in 3 parts) - which calls to mind the *Canzona* of the first book of the Sonate d'intavolatura - an organic, contrapuntal solidity intrudes. In the rest of the Mass, sometimes the voices move in equidistant and terse vertical harmony, sometimes in tranquil, contrapuntal dialog. The "Incarnatus", with an elemental simplicity, is not free from the moderate emotion that is required in this section of the *Credo*. From all indications, with respect to the Sonata for organ and clavier, this Mass acknowledges the traces of the same creator; at times, it appears to be adapted to an easier reading, for possible performance in an Indian [city of] Córdoba whose liturgical body could not rely on great choruses or solists. Now, from the instrumental point of view of the distribution of the 3 vocal parts - soprano, alto, tenor with some low notes that were part of his normal chord - correspond to the most perfect models of the Italian religious music of the beginning of the 1700s.

From a tonal point of view, the four sections of the mass are in the key of F major, but as is traditional, the B flat [sign] does not appear in the key signature; in some places it appears as an accidental alternation, in other places, it is understood. The harmony moves among the 3 traditional degrees of I-V-IV, but acknowledges small and refined transitions, sometimes uncommon "rests" which enrich its harmonic frame. The counterpoint, of extreme freedom, grows without friction nor tortuous manipulation; it is a counterpoint [8] of canonic imitation in three voices that never quite resolves into a strict fugue that shows a constant distinction and freshness of invention. Tonally, the *Gloria* and the *Credo* - perhaps by their longer lengths - present more variety than the remaining

parts. The *Gloria*, for example, has the richest substance of the entire mass: it begins in F major and in the "Gratias agimus" passes to the relative (D major), which is followed by 3 admirable vocal solos, especially the one for soprano in smooth and elegant articulation. A "Qui tollis" ensues, which modulates toward the subdominant (B-flat major), returning to the original key in the "Quoniam" up until the end.

Into this field of hypothesis it is fitting to wonder whether Zipoli brought this mass from Europe or wrote it in America. From all indications, it is the work of a mature musician, not the simple and innocent harmonic exercise of the maestro di capilla in America which after 1750 one is not accustomed to finding in the old archives of our singing rooms, which must be the paradigm of the Mass for the Day of the Dead by Friar Manuel Ubeda dated 1802, which we found and reconstructed 10 years ago. [8]

This final aspect serves to remind us that the discovery of South American baroque music which includes all of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century - where the life of Zipoli unfolded - is a fact that we have taken note of a few years ago. The recent and memorable research of Robert Stevenson in Lima, Cuzco, Sucre, Potosí, and Bogota, the appearance of the musical score of the first opera composed in the New World, The Purple of the Rose - libretto by Calderon de la Barca and music by Tomás de Torrejón - debuted in Lima in 1701, and in conclusion, the manuscripts existing in the Musicological Section of the Museo Historico Nacional del Uruguay [National History Museum of Uruguay] that originated in Bolivia and among which was discovered a major work by Juan de Aranjo for quadruple chorus and harp "continuo", will arouse the astonishment of future times when they are discovered [i.e., these works].

While this fulfills the inexorable stages of the previous study, today we await this information and exhibit a facsimile of the beautiful Bolivian manuscript.

Meanwhile, we penetrate further into the life (already adequately explained today) of the great Italian composer.

Life and Works

At 7 PM on the 16th of October 1688, in the suburbs of the city of Prato, Eugenia Varrocchi, wife of Sabatino Zipoli, gave birth to a boy who was baptized in the Cathedral on the following day under the name of Domenico.

Prato was in those days a plaza fortified with a wall and a citadel that was raised in th 14th century; it [Prato] belonged to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and was situated 17 kilometers to the northeast of Florence. The Grand Duchy was at that time governed by a Medici, Cosimo III, who had ascended to the throne in 1670 and died after a long and tranquil reign in 1723.

In the high middle ages, Prato had been an independent republic. The Spanish had sacked it in 1512 and the Florentines subjugated and absorbed it in 1553. In some of the Pratenese churches [Andrea] Della Robia [1435-1525] had left the profound traces of his genius in the plastic arts. The ancient industry - and even to this day - was that of woolen textiles and the manufacture of iron and copper. In those days, it [Prato] probably supported 3000 inhabitants.

When Domenico was born, Buxtehude and Pasquini - the future teacher of Domenico - were 51 years old, Vitali 44, [Archangelo] Corelli and Pachelbel 35, Purcell

30, Alessandro Scarlatti, Kuhnau and Fux 28, Francois Couperin 20, Geminiani 14, Vivaldi 13, Telemann 7, Rameau 5, Durante 4, and J.S. Bach, Handel, and Domenico Scarlatti were each 3 years old; Benedetto Marcello was scarcely 2.

His generation was, then, that of Vivaldi, Geminiani, Telemann, Rameau, Durante, J.S. Bach, Handel, and Domenico Scarlatti - and of course - that of those who were born 10 or 12 years later, such as Veracini, Daquin, Hasse, Leclair, Leo, Locatelli, Platti, Quantz, and Leonardo Vinci.

Against all of them - nothing less - we have to measure Zipoli in the first place, outside of temporal circumstance, to insert him later in the picture of the general history of European and - as we shall see later - American musical culture.

According to Giambattista Martini, who completed the short but definitive biography of Zipoli, which we will cite presently, he [Zipoli] received his first music lessons from the kapellmeister of the Cathedral of Florence about 1700. In that time the masters in the Florentine Cathedral were Piero Sammartini (from 1686 until 1700) and Giovanni Maria Pagliardi (from 1701 until 1712); Giovani Maria Cassini played the cathedral organ in 1703. From this on can infer that one of them must have given musical instruction to Domenico.

The Grand Duke of Florence later sent him to Naples under the direction of Alessandro Scarlatti "from whom he fled due to sharp differences". [It is interesting to note that Grove does not list Zipoli among Scarlatti's students. In fact, Grove suggests that the accounts of Scarlatti as a teacher are exaggerated] Apparently, the relationship with the Neapolitan school was very brief. Luigi F. Tagliavini, his [Zipoli's] recent transcriber and critic, asks: was this friction with the great Scarlatti of a musical or personal nature? In any case the episode shows Zipoli in the possession of an active and critical temperament both in personality and aesthetics.

At 21 years old, Domenico was in Bologna and received lessons there from Lavinio Vanucci, a monk of San Barbaziano, [who was] an excellent theoretician [and] author of the book Regole da Sonare, e Cantare, e Camporre, e Transportare per li Principianti preserved today in manuscript copy in the musical library that belonged to G. B. Martini.

Finally, he [Zipoli] settled in Rome, completing his career with Bernardo Pasquini. Pasquini, his teacher, was one of the precursors to the gallant style. However, his "galanterie" was not only found in his irregular harmonic-melodic methods (the sixth) or the abuse of ornamentation (trills, mordents, apogituras), but in the use of chromatics and dissonances, restless rhythmic fantasy and above all, [an] "impressionist as Torrefranca so well defined it; an impressionist, we might say, 200 years before Debussy: "era come un profumo diffuso nell'atmosphera musicale" [9] To want to submit that the Debussy-esque impressionism to the techniques of the (dominant) ninth without tie and the augmented fifth is the same as sustaining that the art of gallant writing - depended only on the miniature embroidery of its melodies and in the constant harmonies of the period. Zipoli received from Pasquini, as we shall see, this entire world of conventions which he would cause to blossom in his Sonate of 1716. The three volumes of music for clavier by Pasquini (which are preserved in the British Museum in London), indicate that this is true. Zipoli's arrival in Rome and his studies with Pasquini produced, as we understand, in about 1710 at 24 years of age, the debut in the Eternal City of the oratorio Sant' Antonio of which we only know of the libretto. [10] His oratorio, Santa Catherina Vergine e Martire, was debuted in the church of San Girolamo in Rome about 1714 with literary text (which is the only thing that has been preserved) by Grappelli [11].

At last he acceded to the post of organist of the "Church of Jesus in Rome" sometime prior to the first of January 1716, when he dedicated his Sonate to the Princess of Forano - where on the title page of the edition of these works he declares [that he is] "organist of the same Roman church affiliated with the Jesuits, adjacent to the confessional house."

In that year (of 1716), when he was 28 years of age, in the fullness of his musical career, Zipoli published his Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo, [published also] according to some Jesuit documents, a little treatise Principa seu Elementa ad bene ausandum Organum et Cimbalum, and finally, "called" to a priestly vocation, he travelled to Seville and entered into the novitiate of the Society of Jesus on the first of July.

Regarding his little book, Principles and elements for playing the organ and clavier well, there is an apparent confusion that we had favored 21 years ago in our earlier work about Zipoli [which] provoked the dismissal of the problem. Today, we believe that this work is actually a defective translation of the title of his Sonate and is, therefore, the same work. When Zipoli is spoken of in the Jesuit documents, the reference to his sonatas are omitted, published in the same month and year. Barring new and definitive clarification, his little book that theoretically might have been, doesn't exist.

In full creative effervescence he published his sonatas, then a profound, intense, priestly vocation came upon Zipoli, as was demonstrated in works much later - and the head organist of the Church of the Jesuits in Rome transferred to Seville and joined the Society: "he had been the kapellmeister of the confessional house in Rome" - says the historian Lozano, his companion on the later trip - "and precisely when he could have expected better things, he sacrificed everything for the salvation of the Indians and embarked for Paraguay." [12]

Peramás writes to this respect: "Zipoli, a master who was of the Roman college, from whence he came to our province and left a sufficient sample of himself at the organ in the cathedral of Seville [...]" [13] It is unfortunate that nothing has been able to be preserved to this time in the Seville Cathedral. Father Guillermo Furlong [Cardiff] communicated these lines to the author in 1937: "since one of his biographers said that many pieces of his music had been in existence in the cathedral of Seville, I searched there but didn't find any."

Domenico Zipoli stayed nine months in Seville. Toward the beginning of 1717, the Jesuits organized a great expedition to the Rio de la Plata which left Cadiz on the 5th of April that same year. Among them figured priests whose performance would stand out much later, like historian Pedro Lozano who was 20 years old at the time, the missionaries Nussdorfer, Asperger, and Lizardi and the architects Primoli and Bianchi.

In those days, the journey from Europe to the Rio de la Plata was completed in 3 or 4 months. The priests who sailed from Cadiz went in three ships and the voyage unfolded without incident up to the mouth of the Plata where a storm left one [of the ships] with neither mast nor sail, another far out to sea, and the third was so ravaged that 5 seamen were thrown overboard although 3 of them were recovered. [14]

The ship that carried Zipoli presumably stayed several days in Maldonado as was customary and then went on a little further to the site where Montevideo was founded, then cast anchor in Buenos Aires in July 1717 - the same year that Field Marshall Bruno Mauricio de Zababla also arrive to take charge of the government. He (Zipoli) stayed in Buenos Aires two weeks and then left for Córdoba in a slow ox cart.

For a long time the Jesuits had cultivated the American lands. For example, in February of 1568 in the port of Callao, an establishment of 8 members of the Society who had recently received their cannonic confirmation set foot on th South American soil for the first time. King Philip II, at the request of Francisco de Borga, had supported the beginning of this peaceful conquest of the remote and mysterious continent. On the second of February 1587, the Jesuits entered Córdoba and in 1599 they founded their principal residence there, establishing the scattered missions which are encountered at various times in the surrounding region in this fashion. In 1610 they founded the Colegio Maximo and in three more years, the Convictorio de San Javier. In 1614, they finally established the University, recast from the two earlier centers of education. In 1621, Pope Gregory XV and King Phillip III gave the university official rank and in it they dictated the courses of study for the native and Spanish novices. So there arose from this university bachelors, masters degrees and masters of arts, bachelors, masters and doctors in theology, etc., such as those established by the celebrated Ordinations of Father Pedro Onate and in the later Constitutions of Father Rada in 1621. On June 29, 1671, Bishop Gillestegui consecrated the first Jesuit church, whose organ Domenico Zipoli would play 50 years later.

What was the state of development of musical art within the present day boundaries of Argentina at the time when Domenico Zipoli arrived in Córdoba?

In a reference from a certain Carta Annua - this was the detailed relations of the South American locations that were annually remitted to the Jesuit superiors in Europe - by father Alonso Barzana dated the third of September 1594, in which he refers to the natives, he writes this, which constitutes some of the remote news about music in South America: "Many people in Córdoba are said to sing and dance. And after they have worked all day, they dance and sing in choirs most of the night." [15] The Jesuits, apparently, took advantage of this effective predisposition in the ethnic culture and converted the natives not only into performers but also into directors of instrumental ensembles as can be deduced from the order dictated by Father Diego de Torres around 1609:

> With as much quickness as we can, with gentleness and pleasure of the Indians, [we have] everyone gather their families to learn doctrine [...] to read and to sing. And if the master Metgarejo finds out how to make them flutes to learn to play, he could try to teach one, who might already be a man, that he might be a teacher [i.e., each one teachers another one]. [16]

Nonetheless, that which in principal was a simple vehicle of catechism much later was converted into a high office.

In 1617, Father Juan Vaiseau (a musician native of Flanders) - or Vaseo in the Spanish custom of the time - arrived in the Rio de la Plata and who died six years later in Paraguay while attending to the Indians who had been attacked by the plague. Together with him, brother Luis Berger had also arrived from Europe, born in Anieus, a painter, doctor, jeweler, and dancer who perpetuated the work of Vaisieu. About 1691, father Antonio Sepp arrived in Buenos Aires, a Tyrolean disciple of the director of the bishop's school in Ausgsburg (the German musician Melchor Glettle. Father Sepp built the first South American organ and showed the natives his trade as he revealed in a letter dated in Yapeyú (allowing for hyperbole which he had to restrain):

> In the same manner, there are 2 organs in our church, one made in Europe, the other made by the Indians, and the latter is in nothing inferior to the former. I have mentioned the one in the Misal of Amberes. The musical

> instruments we made for the Indians are as good and handsome as those of Nurenberg. The wall clocks and pocket watches made by the Indians do not lack for anything compared to those made in Augsburg. Some paintings here resemble those by Rubens. In a word: they can imitate anything if they have an example in front of them; if we take them away, they lose it completely from their memory, and they cannot combine anything anymore".

So goes the transcription by Carlos Leonhardt for the revised "Estudios", year 13, volume 27, Buenos Aires, 1924.

The Frenchman Berger was followed in Córdoba by the Italian Pablo Anesanti and by him, Domenico Zipoli.

Regarding the life and activity of Zipoli in Córdoba, we have a few, but varied kinds of definitive references. Organist of the church of that city, his brilliant performance endures in documents following his death. Peramás writes in this manner in Faenza in 1793:

> In those cities there were no musicians other than those who were the servants of the Jesuits. Some priests from Europe who were outstanding in that art had gone to the province, who taught the Indians of the villages to sing and the blacks of the College to play sonorous instruments. But none of them was more illustrious nor more accomplished than Domenico Zipoli, formerly a Roman musician, in whose perfect harmony nothing more harmonious nor artistically crafted could be imagined.
>
> But, while he composed various compositions for the church (they were requested from that same principal city of South America, Lima, and sent through great distances via special messenger) and while he was fully devoted to serious study of letters, he died to the great sorrow of all; and in truth, if you had ever heard any of the music of Zipoli, scarcely anything else could have been more agreeable: it is something like eating honey, when one eats some other food, it becomes less agreeable and not so pleasant by comparison. He died in Córdoba in Tucumán in 1725. His works survive him. [17]

Father Pedro Lozano, a contemporary witness who came with Zipoli from Spain and whose lot it was to hear him, leaves us this reliable account:

> Among the students, the first one who 'paid tribute to nature' in 1726 was Domenico Zipoli, a native of Prato in Tuscany, he had already completed three years of theology but wasn't yet ordained a priest because we didn't have a bishop for the ordination. He was highly accomplished in music, as shown by the small book that he published. He had been kapellmeister of the Great Confessional House in Rome and precisely when he could have expected better things, he sacrificed everything for the salvation of the Indians and left for Paraguay. He entered the Society in Seville. He brought great solemnity to the religious festivals through music, with no small pleasure among the Spaniards as well as the neophytes, and all without postponing his studies in which he had made no small progress in the study of philosophy and likewise in theology. Great were the multitudes of people who went to our church with the desire of hearing him play so beautifully. (18)

When much more could have been expected of his genius and "paid tribute to the nature", according to Lozano, Domenico Zipoli died in the estate of the Jesuits in Santa Catalina, about 50 kilometers from Córdoba on the second of January 1726, 37 and a half years of age and 8 years and 5 months after he had set foot on American soil for the first time. His tomb has not been discovered.

In summary, the production that we now have that is known for a certain Domenico Zipoli are listed here:

1. Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo, opus 1. Presumably published in Rome with a printed dedication dated the first of January 1716.

2. Sant'Antonio, an oratorio premiered in Rome in 1712, only the libretto extant.

3. Santa Catherina Vergine e Martire, an oratorio in 4 parts premiered in the church of San Girolamo in Rome in 1714. Only the libretto remains in the Library of Victor Emmanuel II in Rome, its author is Grapelli.

4. Dell' offese a vendicarme, cantata for soprano and basso continuo. The manuscript is preserved in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (Cited in Robert Eitner: Biographisch Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon; Graz, Akademische Druck, 1959, vol. 10, p. 357).

5. Fragment for violin and basso continuo. Manuscript exists in the Sachsischen Landesbibliothek in Dresden (Ibid. previously).

6. Mass for choir and three voices (soprano, contralto, and tenor) with vocal solos, 2 violins, organ and basso continuo. Manuscript copied in Potosí in 1784 exists in the regional church archive in the city of Sucre, Bolivia.

The Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo

(Sonatas by number for organ and clavier)

The "sonatas by number for organ and clavier" is the Spanish translation that we have adopted for the "Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo" - "intavolatura" has an old and well used Spanish equivalent of the 16th century in the word "number" - which represented one of the boldest, but at the same time coherent and imaginative bodies of organists in the first half of the 18th century. For their temperance and originality, as Vincent d'Indy emphasizes, they are found to be very close to Johann Sebastian Bach. [19]

[Title page and dedication of the first edition of 1716 of the Sonate of Domenico Zipoli is included in the text]

The published edition that is preserved is responsible for the following bibliographic characteristics:

Zipoli, Domenico (1688-1726)

Sonate d'intavolatura / per organo e cimbalo / First part / Toccata, Versi, Canzone, Offertorio / Elevazioni, Post Comunio e Pastorale / Dedicated / All'Ill:ma et Ecc:ma Sig:ra / D. Maria Teresa Strozzi / Principessa di Forano / of / Domenico Zipoli organist of

the church/ of Jesus in Rome / First work.

64 p. 220 x 295 mm (box: 170 x 240 mm)

The first part (which) is dedicated to organ pieces ends on page 35; on page 36, the title of the second part appears, dedicated to the clavier: "Second part / Preludij, Allemande, Correnti, Sarabande / Gighe Gavotte / and / Partite."

The dedication to Maria Teresa Strozzi is dated "il Primo Gennaro 1716 (January 1, 1716)."

Copies exist in the G.B. Martini library in Bologna, in the library of the Paris Conservatory, etc. Based on the first of them and the English edition, A third collection of Toccates Vollentarys and Fugues for the organ or Harpsichord with particular great pieces for the Church made upon several occasions compos'd by Domenico Zipoli principal organist of Rome (London, Walsh, 1731), we have taken the recent edition (that has just appeared) as the basis for our analysis: Domenico Zipoli : Sonate d'intavolatura per Organo e Cimbalo. From the original edited by Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini. Heidelberg, Willy Müller (1959), 2 volumes.

The collection consists of two parts, the first dedicated to the organ and the second to the clavier. The word "sonata" must be taken in the usual meaning of the time, that is to say, simply as a piece "per suonare" in the evident form of the Suite. The three part, bi-thematic idea which later characterized the sonata, did not receive its musical manifestation until the death of J. S. Bach, that is, after 1750.

The first part is made up of a Toccata, five Canzone with their corresponding, preceding Versi, four organisitic commentaries on the liturgy of the Mass - two on the Elevation, on the Post Communio and the other on the Offertory - and a Pastorale. The part dedicated to the clavier is comprised of four Suites - the word is not used, but it is understood - and two Partitas in the manner of a theme with ornamental variations.

The first thing that is called to mind is the solid, stylistic unity of all the works. The organ part is conceived in 3 voice counterpoint; that for the clavier is almost always in two. Vertical writing finally abounds, as is logical and in the final variation of the Partita (with which he ends all the works) he mysteriously anticipates - Zipoli wasn't able to witness the struggle between the pianoforte of Cristofori and the old, rich and noble clavier - a pianistic writing style.

Therefore, the gratuitous words of Guido Pannain called so much attention[20], who later covered in the History of Music (jointly edited with della Corte), attributing to the sonates of Zipoli a lack of order and personality. Moreover, Pannain committed various errors, as was shown by Luigi Tagliavini, in the assignment of some of the Sonates of Zipoli to Durante and Alessandro Scarlatti. His collaborator, Andrea della Corte, who jointly authored the History of Music with Pannain, asserted the only adverse judgment that he could obtain about Zipoli in these lucid words in 1959:

> Having recently read (Zipoli), the delicate impressions of an inspiration are renewed, not small among those great composers of the 17th and 18th centuries, gives a particular gentileness, suaveness, and grace, and such a conciseness so as to exclude it from a reference to the "baroque" technique or mentality. [21]

The work of Zipoli seems to have been written in a single [creative] impulse, and

even worked out for publication, as if it were a question of a great, sonorous superstructure. Both the pieces for the organ as well as those for the clavier are in themselves an independent entity, but appear fitted into a harmonious order of tonal succession and even dynamic contrasts. I think that the solemn *Toccata* that begins the portion for the organ has its final correspondence in the soft *Pastorale* which closes the organ section. In the part for the clavier, a very brilliantly written *Partita* concludes the work as if it were running toward a dazzling, but predictable outcome.

The canzones of the organ book are inserted in the line that proceeds from the intonations of Cabezon, the recherches of Titelouze, and the ricercars of Frescobaldi to the great fugues for organ by Johann Sebastian Bach. They are truly in the middle of the road. They differ from the first by further expositions and by a quite meticulous finish in the counterpoint. Compared to Bach, those of Zipoli are not completed in the subsequent sections of the counter exposition in the fifth. Observe, on the other hand, the notable passage like the one in the Canzona in C major which contains, moreover, a rich and imaginative cadenza over the pedal in the dominant.

If we measure the suites of Zipoli against the so-called French and English ones of J. S. Bach, we observe in the former [i.e., in Zipoli's suites] a major economy of parts: in the French Suites, Bach subdivided the second part of the dances into two quite clear and symmetrical sections, in actuality forming 3 dance parts in all and quite frequently added small final sections in the manner of a Coda. In the sixth French Suite in E major, for example, the *Polonaise* is introduced like this:

A = 8 measures
B = 8 + 8 measures

The most complex of all the dances in this splendid suite by Bach is the *Bouree* which has this plan:

A = 12 measures
B = 12 + 12 + 6 measures

In fact, it is a question of 3 parts of 12 measures each with a coda of six measures [A + B = 12 + 12 + 12 + 6].

The suites of Zipoli consist of only 2 parts in all cases; these two parts are almost never isometric: in general, they present heterogeneous sections from a metric point of view. This is to be seen in the third suite in C major:

Prelude	A = 14 measures	B = 17 measures
Allemande	A = 18 measures	B = 23 measures
Sarabande	A = 9 measures	B = 13 measures
Gavotte	A = 9 measures	B = 11 measures
Giga	A = 12 measures	B = 17 measures

Zipoli knew how to preserve the bilateral symmetry in form as the most polished composer of his time: therefore, he proclaimed the inexorable order of the two Partites with rigorous, equal sections. Asymmetry of the parts in almost all the dances of his suites con only be attributed to a free spirit, withdrawn from routine of dazzling inventive imagination.

The elegance in the style of the form and the melodic vein of fine articulation, a broad vein that irrigates all the pieces of his sonatas with original melodic substance,

makes their character very moving. No wonder Vincent d'Indy, in his admirable course on musical composition, said, upon studying the work of Zipoli in the chapter dedicated to the suite: "he was one of the best Italian teachers from the aspect of musicality and elegance of writing; his qualities of counterpoint would unite him with the likes of Frescobaldi, Pachelbel, and Bach." [22]

In order to comprehend the analysis of the Sonate of Domenico Zipoli, it is necessary to come to an agreement with the terminology that he employs and in keeping with such an agreement, to print the usual meanings of the terms that he used:

Canzona: a piece in counterpoint for organ preceded by 4 versicles [versi] of a free variation style in which the "dux", motive, or theme that sustains the Canzona must not be revealed. These "versi" - the proper Spanish tradition is "versicles" - are then, tonal preludes on a theme which later, in the Canzona, comes to be treated in a fugal form. The Canzona consist of an exposition in 3 voices, a small "divertimento" in florid counterpoint, a counterexposition in the dominant, a second divertimento and often one more exposition.

Partita: a series of ornamental variations on the same theme in two parts. Each variation has a distinct air that recalls a Giga, an Allemanda, a Sarabanda, etc. The variations have the same number of measures except when binary meter or 3/8 time is used: in these cases, the number of measures is increased to exactly double.

Pastorale: a piece for organ with a rustic character whose melody recalls a bagpipe or "tongue flute" double, like the oboe. Its rhythm is based on a ternary organization in large sections of 2, 3, and 4 (6/8, 9/8. and 12/8). A long pedal tone which calls to mind the drone of the bagpipe must be prolonged in one section of the work.

Sonata: synonymous with suite or could be a series of distinct dances which occur in the same key and which are cut in two parts and upon the basis of only one theme. Each part of each dance is repeated one time. From the tonal point of view, the first part begins in the fundamental key and after a modulatory period, declines into the dominant key (fifth grade). The second part follows an inverse process: it begins in the dominant key and ends in the tonic.

Toccata: piece for keyboard in three or four sections, of a free character, brilliant, fantasy-like, [a piece] that could exist by itself, but that generally precedes another work of quite strict counterpoint. In the toccata, solemn bars of chords alternate, always freely, with quick horizontal delineations in counterpoint. Generally, when it is written for stringed keyboards, it has a "hammered" character; when written for organ, [it has an] anti vocalistic bend. In all cases, it is the exaltation of the instrumental melody.

First Part: Organ

1. Toccata - A pompous Toccata in D-minor opens the entire collection of pieces for the organ. To us, it is as if Zipoli thought of a grand superstructure and like a door he raises up this toccata. It consists of five internal sections that assume many other ideas. The first section (measures 1-6) is a solemn introduction in a "Lento" [marking] which closes in a "Picardy third" chord (the major third with which the organists of French Picardy had the custom of finishing the final chord of a work in the minor mode), in such a way that this section, which up to the penultimate note is in D-minor, passes surprisingly, closing in D-major. The second section (measures 7-22), is a rapid passage with an improvisational character in two voices with imaginative cadence formulas. The third (measures 23-26) is an harmonic "Lento" in A-major - tense and dramatic - which

crosses over to the fourth part (27-34), an "Andantino" in three voices of the most rich and elaborate counterpoint. The fifth (measures 35-47) is another "Allegro" where one recognizes the rigorous movement of the *Toccata* which advances in secure and "hammered" passages closing again with a perfect third D-major chord. This [piece] is a model, in the genre, of imaginative, rich and coherent composition.

2. Canzona in D minor - The first canzona in D minor is perhaps the simplest of the four. The first versicle, a brief, tonal improvisation, is tumultuous and brilliant in the manner of the toccata. The second is a serene counterpoint in 3 real parts. The third and fourth continue the same melodic ideas - one could not properly speak of the property of the cell - with slight modifications: presented in gloom in the third versicle, it reappears in the fourth going against this figuration in a charming grace. Finally, the canzona, whose theme also originates from the same former melody is a pleasant, but resolute and noble organistic piece of the free contrapuntal form.

3. Canzona in C major - This second canzona has the peculiarity that its unity is dictated by the similarity of the articulation in the configurations, in as much as the first [was] by its relationship of melodic altitudes. The first versicle of this Canzona in C major is a rich and brilliant tonal improvisation and the following three are strict counterpoint in 3 [voices]. The canzona, on the other hand, of all that are contained in the volume, is the closest to a fugue. Actually, in the manner of a simple fugue in 3 voices, in the beginning one hears a clear exposition (subject), an initial divertimento and a counter-subject in the dominant (measures 16 to 20). A series of later divertimentos impedes the realization of the piece as a complete fugue since the theme does not return. Without recognizable "austerity", one hears a short cadence in the pedal in the fifth grade (dominant) in the final sections.

4. Canzona in F major - The third canzona has four preceding versicles of rich articulation, especially the fourth in the gigue style. It begins like the rest with a versicle in the style of a free and brilliant toccata. Two versicles follow in serene counterpoint and the fourth takes up the dance air again in a gigue tempo. The canzona is actually a perfect and rigorous fugue in 3 real parts.

5. Canzona in E minor - The first versicle in vertical harmony, mysterious, in the nature of a toccata for the Elevation, develops in an environment of rich and changing tonal expansion. Three versicles contrasting in elaborate counterpoint follow and close in a much shorter canzona than the previous one.

6. Canzona in G minor - After a tumultuous toccata that functions as the first versicle, a serene movement in counterpoint follows. The third versicle is gracious and rich and the fourth noble and elegant in its melodic line. The canzona, broad and developed, is very close to a school fugue in three voices. An intermediate section in 12/8 time, which reminds one of the end of the fugue alla gigue by J.S. Bach, opens the way for a repetition of the first section with which this canzona closes.

7. All' Elevazione (I) - Rich in its modulatory process, this movement in F major shows an incredible smoothness in its array of altitudes. The articulation of the slow Baroque tempos shine here in the highest degree.

8. Al Post-Comunio - The happiness of the soul that has just participated in the Eucharistic feast is reflected in this piece, all joy and intimate grace. One observes here the traditional restless and festive position, in [the] quick tempo of semiquavers in measure of compasillo.

9. All' Elevazione (II) - The second meditation on the Elevation reflects, we would say (applying a judgment of romantic value), the profoundly religious spirit of Zipoli. Also quite rich in articulation, it nevertheless is in clear contrast to the first elevation by its surprising modulatory process, laden with harmonic appoggiatura. Its melodic fantasy and originality can be observed in the bold and elaborate modulatory process which declines into the key of A major (measures 25-27):

10. All' Offertorio - The cell which engenders this movement is an original rhythmic concept that is repeated - not deliberately, you understand - 75 years later in the Andante of the most celebrated Haydn symphony, the Symphony in G major, "The Surprise". Its flagrant relationship can be seen with the identical portrayal - note by note - which the second violins make in measures 29 and 30 of the Andante of the famous symphony.

This observation about the *Offertorio*, of an hallelujah character shows a festive and correspondent joy which contrasts sharply with the previous fragments. It is perhaps the most original of all the organ pieces by Zipoli.

11. Pastorale - Consists of 3 sections: an Allegro enclosed between two Largos. The broad melody of the first part of a highly successful, rustic nature as tradition requires, will be subjected to an extraordinarily rich and modulatory process in its recurrence in the last section.

Observe then this memorable fragment of a page that shows that it was written in the most demanding organ repertoires:

[Incipit inserted in text]

Second Part: Clavier

12. Suite I in B minor - The first suite of the book for clavier is not the most brilliant one, but it anticipates the excellence of the rest of them. It is established with a *Preludio - Corrente - Aria - Gavotte* plan and as is the traditional form, the first part of each dance declines in the dominant key (F sharp minor in this case) beginning the second part in this key closing in the one of the tonic.

The *Preludio*, somber, meditative, of contrapuntal texture opens the way for a quick *Corrente* from which the most elaborate piece of the suite follows: an *Aria* of exquisite melodic articulation. All the glories of the Baroque's slow movements are proven here: from the minim to the semifusa and within the most complex theory of detail and syncopation, the melody takes off with an articulation loaded with intention, suspension, suddenly free, suddenly restrained, yet in moderate boldness and eloquently irregular and syncopated. In all cases, an almost dreamy imagination presides over the construction of its melodic line of an apparent and at the same time deceitful simplicity.

The suite is closed with a festive and popular *Gavotte* that had lost its original anacrusa and moves in gloomy phrases.

13. Suite II in G minor - The second suite consists of *Preludio - Corrente - Sarabanda - Giga*. This time the *Preludio* of elaborate counterpoint, as is typical of Zipoli's suites, has a peculiar and restless modulatory inflection in the intermediate period of each section before declining to the dominant in the first part and the tonic in the second. After a gracious *Corrente*, the most beautiful piece of the suite and one of the

most polished pieces that comes from his hands follows: a ceremonious *Sarabanda* in the articulation of its diminishing progressions. It is of solemn and lyric concentration and presages the Andante [movement] of the later Sonata [form] that comes from the slow, sad, and melodic Sarabanda which comes from the old Suite [form]. The final *Giga* is in 12/8 time. Originally, the Scots jig had been in 9/8 time, but Father Brosard had already observed in 1703: "The Italians often mark the jig movement in 6/8 or 12/8 time." (23) For this reason, the jig of Zipoli's second suite, from the perspective of the ancient Scottish syncopations and rhythms, is closer to the happy Neapolitan tarantellas of our times. In the second part of this dance, Zipoli treats the theme in the form of the inverted fifth although he doesn't manifest it in a contrapuntal form. This is another of the traditional peculiarities of the treatment of the jig, which Zipoli respected, but which at the same time he would change in a small way.

14. Suite III in C major - Consists of *Preludio-Allemanda - Sarabanda - Gavota - Giga*. Outstanding [pieces] in it [are] a splendid and extensive *Allemanda* with vigorous, energetic rhythms and a *Sarabanda* with persistent trills (indicated by the author) which give it a breathless, almost suspenseful character, in the first part. The second section of the Sarabanda exhibits one of the most beautiful and melodic "curves" of the entire collection. Spitta said of the Sarabanda: "[it] occupies the same place in the Suite that the second Adagio [does] in the Sonata." [24]

15. Partita in C major - The first of the Partitas is composed of 11 ornamental variations. The theme has, as is traditional, two parts and in this case the first is comprised of 4 measures and the second of 5. At the same time, the variations have the same number of measures except for the sixth and seventh which are in 3/8 time and the eighth which is in binary meter, and consequently doubles the number of measures. The wealth of invention surges in every moment and the variations keep moving without tiring, with a carefree elegance and comes to an end with a solid and brilliant Toccata air.

16. Suite IV in D minor - Corresponds to the *Preludio - Allemanda - Gavota - Minuet* plan. It is perhaps the most elaborate of the 4 suites and in it the same melodic cell that appears in the *Prelude* produces the themes of each dance such as one can observe in this short comparison: (Incipit inserted in text).

A very brief *Minuet* finishes this suite - perfect in its form and the sequencing of a singular melodic idea.

17. Partita in A minor - 13 variations on the same theme close Zipoli's clavier book. Again, the invention and fantasy constantly blossom, especially in the last variation. In it one foresees the pianisitic [style of] writing and recalls the sparkling verve and rapid scales of one Domenico Scarlatti who almost without a doubt must have known Zipoli since they both were students of Pasquini. The next to last - number 12 - is a wonder of inventiveness inside of the domain of the imitations of 2 voices.

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In comparison with his most eminent contemporaries - Vivaldi, the Scarlattis, Rameau, Couperin, J.S. Bach, Handel - the profile of Domenico Zipoli is outlined with extraordinary clarity, one would almost say with stiffness. Also, the fact that his sonatas are youthful crystalizations. However, they have the power, the originality, and as a result, the delightful ruggedness of the "fructa temprana (early fruit)" as the Marquis of Santillana would say, of a musician of exceptional lineage. His works, stand up, without being inferior, among some of the greatest of his time.

There are composers who possess the gift of melodic invention (Schubert), others of harmonic invention (Schumann), those of formal invention (Franck), those of orchestral invention (Rimsky-Korsakov), including some of rhythmic invention (Stravinsky), in spite of this (i.e., rhythmic invention) being relatively few in Western culture.

But, we also have those who are "multi-talented": composers to whom are given multiple gifts of invention. Beethoven would be one of the paradigms: what a gift of melodic invention in the initial moderato of the Sonata opus 110 for the piano! What a gift of textual harmonic invention in the odd bridge of transition between the second and third movement of the Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in E flat #5! What a gift of formal invention in the Fifth Symphony! What a gift of rhythmic invention in the Seventh Symphony!

Domenico Zipoli is, in a certain fashion, "ambidextrous". Standing out in the foreground is his gift of melodic invention. The original and elegant lines of his Andantes melodically encompass a constellation of altitudes, and the restless, intentional and fantastic articulation of his configurations of detail and irregular values, show his melodic imagination.

A strict expert of form, he is free from all academic-ness, except for creating new rhythmic obligations. The Partitas correspond to a traditional plan. The dances on the other hand, free from strict meter, operate in irregular parts with an elegance dictated by the "impromptu" and by good taste.

The works of Zipoli have been inserted in the time of the "late Baroque" as it has been called by Bukofzer [25], but in some eminent composers, the middle Baroque and even the early continue predominating. Compared to the harmonic and contrapuntal writings of these final Baroque [composers], filled with multiple entwined lines, which were sometimes burdensome, the texture of the music of Zipoli is clear and transparent. Boldly modern in spirit, one finds his music in accord with a concept of classic serenity and encounters, in the thin plainness of the lines, their entire completeness. Still, he had in his surroundings all of the tumultuous and complex world that the late Baroque which offered him all the possibilities, but he chose one small, technical medium in which to express himself, but the choice is strict and the combination of those materials was dictated by original, exclusive, and non-transferable laws. The whole thing, of course is mysteriously declared: "Music is a secret calculation that the soul creates, (but) without knowing it," Leibnitz would say in 1712. In the final analysis, to create in art is to select and combine, that is "to put upright" this tumultuous world of possibilities. For that reason, the musical creator is called a "composer". That is, one who puts in order the sea of sound.

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[4] J. Combarieu: History of music, Paris, Colin, 1913, volume II, p. 152.

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[6] Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini: see reference in note 1.

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[8] Lauro Ayestarán: "Mass for the Day of the Dead by Friar Manuel Ubeda. Montevideo 1802. Commentary and reconstruction", Montevideo, 1952 (Part of the Revista de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias, year VI, number 9, Montevideo, October 1952).

[9] Fausto Torrefranca: Le origini italiane del Romaticismo musicale, Turin, Bocca, 1930 p. 338.

[10] Guido Pasquetti: L'Oratorio Musicale in Italia, Florence, Le Monier, 1906, p. 348.

[11] See note number 10.

[12] In the Staatsarchiv de Munich, Bavaria (Jesuits, 267) in the Cartas Annuas of the years 1720 to 1730 writings by Father Pedro Lozano are found. Among the obituaries, the one corresponding to Domenico Zipoli is found, of high praise, it was written by the great historian who came with Zipoli from Spain in 1717 and who had contact with him until the moment of Domenico's death. A copy of this letter was sent by Father Guillermo Furlong to Lauro Ayestarán in a letter on the 8th of November 1937. Later it was published in its complete form by Father Furlong in his pamphlet of 1955 cited in note 1.

[13] Juan Manuel Peramás: Diary of the voyage of the expatriates of Córdoba, number 116, Turin, December 1768. The original exists in the Library of the College of the Society of Jesus, in Granada. Communicated by Father Guillermo Furlong.

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[17] Josephi E. Peramás: De vita et Moribus tredecim virorum Paraguaycorum, Faventia, 1793, p. 294. Communicated by Father Guillermo Furlong.

[18] See note number 12.

[19] Vincent d'Indy: Cours de composition musicale. Redige avec la collaboration de Auguste Serieyx, Paris, Durand, 1909. Book II, first part, volume II, p. 71.

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[21] Andrea della Corte: "Zipoli in Prato" in the diary La Nazione, Florence, 14 October 1959, reproduced later in the journal La Scala, Milan, November, 1959. Translated by Victor de Rubertis in La Silurante Musicale, year XXVIII, number 85, Buenos Aires, May 1960.

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[24] Philipp Spitta: Johann Sebastian Bach, translation to English by Clara Bell and J. A. Fuller-Maitland. London, Novello (1951). Volume II, p. 89.

[25] Bukofzer, Manfred: Music in the Baroque Era, New York, Norton (1947).

Samuel Claro. "La Música en las Misiones Jesuitas de Moxos". Coleccion de Ensayos. Santiago, Chile : Universidad de Chile, 1969. Number 17. pp. 22-30.

Only three authors stand out among the manuscripts of San Jacinto: Aranjo, J. Rumano, and Zipoli (=Zipuli). The Great Mass for a Great Festival of Rumano had the good fortune of being performed five times between 1922 and 1953, the two works of each one of the other composers equally show signs of constant, repeated performance.

If we consider that the names of Araujo and Zipoli correspond to the celebrated Chuquisaqueño composer Don Juan de Araujo (1646-1714) and to the Italian Jesuit, Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726) who took up residence in Argentina and died in the city of Córdoba [48], then immediately arises a series of questions with respect to the cultural communication among the villages of Moxos and the regions of Santa Cruz de la Sierra and the high plateau. The contact between the Moxos and the Chiquitos might be demonstrated, in our judgment, by the existence of a Misa Cruceña in the archive of San Jacinto. The Misa Chuquisaca of the archive and some of the stylistic indicators of the Misa de Cuaresma and the Letanias, persuade us to accept the authorship of Juan de Araujo of the last two, which could have been integrated into the musical repertories coming out of La Plata.

The two works of Zipoli, Letania and Tantum Ergo, eloquently speak of the cultural interchange that existed between the eastern plains and the high plateau of Bolivia, especially La Plata and Potosí. [49] Mario J. Buschiazzo suggested that the odd animal and vegetable decorative elements of the churches of Potosí could have come from the Moxos and Chiquitos (see illustration VI). [50] To that respect, we must remember that the fame of Zipoli survived him for a long time and that in 1784, more than a half century after his death, his Mass in F major was copied in Potosí. [51] The works of Zipoli were requested by the principal cities of South America and were sent from Lima "through great distances by special messenger." [52] If we agree that Zipoli belonged to the Society of Jesus, the religious order of the missionaries of the Moxos and Chiquitos, it would therefore not seem strange that the manuscripts that we have discovered came from his inspiration and that even his Tantum Ergo could even have been written especially for the missions of Moxos.

This work, of a processional character, was sung "to the verses in the church before the Benediction" and is preserved in parts copied between the 18th and 20th centuries (see illustration III, figure 2). These successive copies have disfigured the work to the extent that the legitimacy of some of the notes and rhythm is probably placed in doubt. The first stanza of the hymn is entrusted to the first soprano with a violin continuo accompaniment (example 5a) and is preserved in a recent copy; in the second stanza, "Genitore Genitoque", four voices intervene (soprano, alto, tenor, bass) and there are two versions, one of them is 18 measures longer than the other (example 5b). Written in F major (the same key as the Potosí Mass), the work clearly represents an Italian style.

From the Catalogo Parcial de Manuscritos Musicales de la Iglesia de San Ignacio de Moxos, Beni - Bolivia p.30

Letania. Kyrie / Exaudi nos.

Canto I and II - Canto - Alto - Tenor - Bass; first violin; organ / F major / complete. The organ part shows abundant numbers, but the errors in copying are frequent. According to the historians' information, especially Father F. J. Eder, they [the mistakes] must have been repeated from generation to generation.

Tantum Ergo

Exists in 2 copies: Copy a) Alto - Tenor - Bass; first violin (original copy from the 18th century). Copy b) First soprano - Alto - Tenor; first violin; ground bass / F major / complete.

Notes:

[48] Biographic data about Domenico Zipoli can be found in G. Furlong, op. cit., pp. 114-121; Lauro Ayestarán, "Domenico Zipoli: vida y obra" [Facultad de Artes y Ciencias Musicales, Lecturas musicológicas, Number 1] (Buenos Aires, 1962), study published in the Revista Musical Chilena, XVI/81-82 (July - December, 1962), pp. 94-124, with the title "Domenico Zipoli and the South American Baroque Music"; Robert Stevenson, The Music of Peru, pp. 178-179; Vicente Gesualdo, "La música Argentina durante el periodo colonial", Revista Musical Chilena, XVI/81-82, pp. 128-129.

[49] See our article published in the same Revista, "Un órgano barroco boliviano", XXI/100 (April - June 1967), pp. 31-38.

[50] In his work "La arquitectura de Mojos and Chiquitos", Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigationes Esteticas, No. 5 (Buenos Aires, 1952), pp. 23-40, cited by Lewis Hanke, La Villa Imperial de Potosí: Un capitulo inédito en la historia del Nuevo Mundo (Sucre: Universidad de San Francisco-Xavier, 1954), p. 27, note 24.

[51] Analysis of the work is found in Robert Stevenson, The Music of Peru, p. 179 (Stevenson describes the work from the archive of the Cathedral of Sucre, Bolivia). L. Ayestarán, "Domenico Zipoli ... ", pp. 13-16.

[52] Joseph E. Peramás, De vita et moribus tredecim vivorum Paraguaycorum (Faventia, 1793), p. 294. Cited in L. Ayestarán, op. cit., p. 23.

Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana (aka Espasa); Bilboa (Madrid, Barcelona) : Espasa - calpe, 1930. v. 70. p. 1298.

Zipoli, Domingo

Italian musician, born in Nola in 1675 and died on a date unknown. He was the celebrated organist of the Church of the Society of Jesus in Rome. Various editions of the Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo, which appeared in 1716 were published and were quite celebrated in their time.

Flury, Lazaro. Historia de la Musica Argentina. Santa Fe, Argentina : Ediciones Colmegna, 1967. p. 34-35.

Regarding Domenico Zipoli:

He was one of the most brilliant organists and moreover, he mastered many other instruments: violin, bassoon, and flute.

When he performed music, the Church became a compact crowd of Indians who delightedly listened to him.

Frias, Pedro Jose; Memorias del Músico Zipoli. Ediciones Olocco, Córdoba, Argentina, 1975; second edition.

Zipoli: about his tomb and his memoirs

Domenico Zipoli was born in Prato (Italy) on the 16th of October 1688 and died at the Jesuit estate of Santa Catalina near Córdoba (Argentina) on the second of January 1726.

His gift for music was precocious. At 9 years old, he learned the organ at the cathedral of Florence. At 17, the Grand Duke's patronage sent him to Scarlatti's school in Florence. In 1709, he frequented a counterpoint class in Bologna. And this time the Grand Duke's support directed him to Rome.

Two years after his first oratorio was premiered, he presented the one dedicated to "Saint Catherine, virgin and martyr", a premonition because the protection of the Saint of Alexandria covered his death in the estate in the Córdoba mountains. The Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo followed the composition of a treatise on the mastery of those instruments. His reputation became even greater when, at 28, he became the kapellmeister of the Church of Jesus in Rome.

Of his personal life, we only know that one day his mere liturgical participation was no longer sufficient. He became a novice and Jesuit missionary to go to the Indies: he prepared in Seville, embarked from Cadiz, and in July of 1717 went to Buenos Aires.

However, he was destined for Córdoba, the erudite city, the main seat of the Jesuits in the Rio de la Plata. He studied in its University and in the Church of the Society, under the arch of the multicolored Paraguayan cedars, he produced music and perhaps students. The "Zipoli papers" spread throughout Spanish America of the time, but they were too fragile materials to survive the later expulsion of the Jesuits.

The music that he wrote in America might have had even more freedom had he come to express the truth of the new man in the New World. But certainly he opted for the simpler life, a sincere manner and a guileless demeanor.

In 1726, while ill at the estate of Santa Catalina, where the harmony of the Baroque is associated with the unequaled serenity of the evenings, Zipoli received Christmas and New Year's and joined in the celebration, but his "celebration" was an American death for a son of the Old World.

His body was buried in a small cemetery near the church, between the beautiful entrance and the arch on the hillock where the first stories of Viceroyalty were elaborated. When Father Lozano wrote his eulogy - "most perfect in music" - a few meters from his tomb, he had not imagined that Zipoli was among the first and most notable of a stream of blood, work, and culture that brought Italy and Argentina together.

Like others, this tomb was forgotten for some time, and I have set my course. I have visited Prato, I believe that I have followed his steps in Rome, I have commemorated his journey to America, I have tried to become acquainted with his contemporaries, I have enjoyed his music. In this manner these memoirs were born. Are

they attributed or are they discoveries? If this isn't Zipoli, it is a friend who has grown from his silence.

Memoirs of the musician Zipoli

Prato

Today, the 20th of September 1707, I feel the necessity to make up my mind and to discuss it with myself. A moment ago, my mother kissed me with an emotion (that afterward dispersed into tears), and sent me off without reproach:

Son, you are leaving us ...

Yes, I leave you. The Grand Duke has granted me a scholarship and with or without it, I was ready to go to Florence to study as kapellmeister or as organist.

Is the world for me and my music for the world, as my brother Giovannibatista ironically said to me? No, I didn't feel this emphasis, I love the world and I love music. I have learned it (music) here in Prato, but the opportunities for growth are elsewhere. For a young man of my condition, Prato is small: it is the post of the Borgo of the camp of the Naldinis, which my father attends; it is the gate of the Serraglio which I always cross and the church where I have learned music; it is also this organ of Santo Domingo, which excites the imagination of whomever (hears it) and which some day I will play to feel that Prato is totally mine.

I have thought about it a lot, before petitioning this grant from the Grand Duke. Why not remain here? I want to finish my career, complete it and complete myself; I seek maturity and maturity is the goal; here everything is dispersed and I want to concentrate, to be more than worthy. No, it is not out of vanity to try to get a name; if it is that Florence is a road toward the world, I would say almost the world, and music is the road to the heavens, I would say almost the heavens ...

Florence

This year in Florence has been intense; this duchy's climate seems to have perfection as its end ... but I have also learned; I believe that Frescobaldi's style possesses me too greatly and I do not have sufficient ability to free myself; perhaps another master, another school, another environment ...

The Grand Duke has to resolve (it) and, as that Chancellor Ridi says, with his courtly language, I would probably be "consoled" by the grant.

They think that it is madness to leave Florence; it is worse than that: to lose all frame of reference for a Tuscan, the adventure in a vacuum, except for music; but that music is now called Alessandro Scarlatti, and I must go to Naples.

Naples

Scarlatti is finished with me and I with him. This experience has not been useless

with a master who respects a student whom he doesn't want. He respects me, that is, he accepts me as I am or as I am becoming, but we lack affinities of character. Our conversations became trivial and the hollowness is not enough to be filled by good intentions toward one another to give new depth to the relationship. He suffers from not giving me more and I from not being a desired student. It shames me to confess it: if I am the most talented of this students, why am I not a participant in his confidence?

He has limited himself to say to me: young man, you are able to create music seriously. Nevertheless, these scant words of encouragement have been the most important that I have heard in my life.

Kapellmeister

We are at the beginning of 1716. I have reached 27 years old. I am the organist of Il Gesù in Rome. My work is beginning to be recognized. The Sonate d'intavolatura conclusively puts me among the musicians that matter. I gather proof of preference and expectation; each one of them unites my conscience in a work that demands consecration. But during these years - like a trap or a gift, I know not which - I have discovered that I am still capable of a greater consecration, of a possibility to arrange something more intimate for myself, in a service that would not only be musical. I want to say that I have found more than once, under the roof of Il Gesù, when I improvise as befits a kapellmeister, I have found myself - I mean - not totally concentrating on the melody, but rather on God, whom the music praises.

The beauty ... the song of desire. I want to bring myself closer to the Good of which I am deprived, now that other good things have come to soothe my thirst.

Rome

This evening, my memory has been populated - or have populated me - with fleeting images that linger afterward. Among Prato, Florence, and Naples, I have settled in Rome. Prato provided the soil that gave us birth: a first identity, that life later confirms, reforms, and disfigures. Naples was the noise, Florence the quiet. To me, Rome seemed to have everything and nothing of the cities in which I have grown.

Although the Tuscan in me is strong, in Rome I am myself. At last, I have received the "power": the organ of Il Gesù. At last, I have received the prestige: roundabout complacency that refined my almost rustic affiliation. At last, I have become acquainted with love.

In Rome I have put fingers on the keyboard and hands on life. But my daily work became organized between life and music.

I recall the first hall into which I was admitted, the first coach into which I was invited, the first Cardinal that encouraged me. All that seemed so respectable to me then, but now rather insignificant. Music bound me to the institutions; it was an institution.

Afterward, my memories continued along different angles; the palaces that I have seen built and decorated, the gardens of the hills, some admirable villas, precise, beautiful and grand ceremonies, courtesies that hid pettiness, liturgies that no longer stirred the soul.

It must be stated that Rome is not hostile to me. And I am not hostile to it. I am not an innocent for her, Rome is not the teacher of my life. But, I enjoy her grandeur and I am not a bad actor in her play. Rome is not the owner of my deeper self, rather merely my address.

What is Rome to me? Her past suggested to me a rationality of the world, an orderliness, a civilization. That historical fact also impresses me, yet it is mysterious, of the seat of the primate (i.e., the first one), the remains of Peter, of the radiation of the church. In the city, a Pontiff, a mediator, a vicar, a saving admonition, even though she didn't save herself.

Rome, then, is mine within - the one who transforms or the one who mediates. Civilization and salvation, one is a great distance from the other, but touching ... one and another installed.

And although at any moment I saw growing in me disintegration and disorder and vanities and temptation, Rome continued to be, no longer the mistress of my identity, but the mistress of my plan.

My plan ... when I arrived in Rome, I wanted a free life and the dignity of a great city. This liberty was also the acceptance of sin: flesh without love, intransitive ambition, emulation without brotherhood. But it wasn't the renunciation of God. And Rome seemed to me the mistress of my plan because she offered me liberty without requiring this renunciation from me.

Only Rome, sacred and profane, majestic and grotesque, healthy and balanced, picturesque, dignified and popular. In Rome there is no hypocrisy: evil isn't exhibited, it is tolerated, however seldom incapable of redemption.

The Sonatas

Today I recall the feelings that concluded in the Sonata d'intavolatura. Sometimes they ask me why I compose music. Why does everything fall into the Tiber, my dreams also, my fears and my ambition?

I have felt thus these days. Such was the level of my spirit that was preparing for the music that returned time and again within me. Slowly searching. When they closed the church, it explained the phrases in the organ and captured the notes. For a moment I felt a repulsion for those papers and a joy for that inner life populated with sounds. I felt myself indebted to my surroundings and my teachers. I was unable to distinguish that which was mine and from that which was theirs. But in this continuity and in the subtle breaks [from them] of my creation - was my music, was me.

I have not passed through any crisis in these days. It was like a quick and tiring growth with some turbulence like those of a river.

The sonatas are the song of which I am capable. Inside of me remain the melodies that I rejected and the melodies that rejected me, the musical opportunities that I failed to carry off and those that carried me off. And all of me remains, of which only I was aware. My life remains free in the ambitious city capable of assimilating sin and forgiveness ... like the counterpoint of my works.

Reinvention

The sonatas speak for me, but they don't exhaust me. I repeat that something in me always remains at the limits of music. By virtue of my duties, my association with the Jesuits has caused the inner Zipoli to grow in these years in Rome, able to make music and to feel outside of it.

We are always somewhat alien to the best which we give ourselves. Whether true or illusory, this distance is that which allows man to not only be, nature, but also history: a risk, sometimes a surprise, seldom a reinvention.

And I say for myself, for my Roman experience, about that which I passed up when the ones of the Indies proposed a new frontier for the Faith that I profess; when the Society asked for people for the mission to create and to die. The mission is this: to create a village of God in another village. And to die. To teach. And to die.

The Society of Jesus

I have taken the decisive step and this letter from the Preposito General of the Society of Jesus confirms my choice:

"Beloved son:

Among the requests received to go to the Indies on our next expedition, yours has not been unnoticed. You have informed me of your wish to be included in the Society and to minister in the Rio de la Plata. I approve your decision, I bless your intentions and I lament the vacancy that you leave in our church.

But moreover, I want to be frank with you. You have arrived at a singular excellence in music and also I believe that the New World needs your services. But music is a cultural product. She lives under a frail union with the other expressions of the spirit and of the restlessness of man. Your music will correspondingly be found with the churches that we have raised there and even ones not yet built, and with other testimonies to art. But I suspect that this letter will be insufficient. The unconscious support of your inspiration can be lacking. Or better, much better, to originate a new style for a New World.

I won't say more. I pray you to reconsider your decisions yet a little while longer and although your commitment to the inhabitants of the Indies is definite, you are authorized to return if with the safe return your present-day achievements promise. It is enough that you show these lines of mine for which you are excused of staying in the Indies."

To the Indies

I am in Seville where all of us who hope to cross the Atlantic have concentrated. A discipline that I don't regret has been introduced to us in the life of the Society and in that of some unknown world. My mind is serene, but my heart is excited. Contrary to what our spiritual director had warned us, there is no tension from the fantasy, nor even on the other hand of emotion. To have been capable to refuse certain unforeseen allurements - of success and love - has given me total availability reserved for those that I don't want to call savages. But what impatience for the departure! What little curiosity

for this beautiful city of singular people, gentile and dispersed, that recall for me the Neapolitans and, little of those of my native Prato.

But generous! They have made me feel their enthusiasm for my organ playing and I have composed to satisfy diverse petitions. But almost always I have put off correcting and writing my music until later. Because Seville is thus.

A Fleeting Horizon

Our voyage is ending and they say that we are in the Rio de la Plata. I don't see the shores. For me, a river is water that runs between precise banks. Land is that which has exact boundaries: the mountain or flood, the parade of cypresses, the abandoned tower. They say that here the land is lost in a deceptive horizon, always fleeting. Yet it is land. Yet it is a river.

I have asked my good architect friends Bianchi and Primoli, what they can make in a space without border. I have asked the archivist, Lozano, what history could be born where man hasn't been measured against nature. The architects believe, frankly, that they order the space and they impose style upon it. Lozano is more astute: he knows that history is not only the act of foundation and the conflict of powers, the petition to the King and the dispute of grants, but also the nurturing of the human ambition: that a cleric leaves his inheritance to educate the children in "virtues and letters" or that we promote this expedition of Spaniards, Bohemians, Flemish, Tuscans, and those from the middle of Europe, to make a new world.

My companions smile, but are not indifferent when I renew my training. What availability do we have to adapt our culture to this land? The answer of our villages of missions seems valid and astonishing. It is as much a transculturation as a dialogue of cultures and sensibilities. The stories that we have heard through our conversations on the boat have opened a horizon for me. But in Córdoba, where we are going, the natives do not offer such a dialogue. Our culture is dominant everywhere. In Córdoba it is unique, and notwithstanding, I have a presentiment that it is challenged by a new reality.

I suspect that we won't render the complete service that we want if we try to always be ourselves. If our old culture repeats itself, we will have smothered an originality. To not deny anything, but rather to seek the new answers from that which we are? Or that which is?

In Córdoba

At last in Córdoba. I was installed a few days ago and I believe that I understand the city: Is a university more than a village or a village a more than a university? In any case, it is a community of men with a mission because every university is mission. I repeat: it is a large city on a mission, it is a city in a doubly New World, a human island in a virgin land.

Nature doesn't always smile; life is hard; only the Colegio Maximo is different; there we integrate well among ourselves.

Córdoba again. I wonder: what might this city be when there is no more life to its mission, which is the university? Utopia or realism.

I forgot: in Córdoba it is necessary to see the night sky.

The Final Word

I review my life in Córdoba and I wonder if this Domenico whom I am supposed to have reinvented in Rome is succeeding. Am I the "new man" or am I the same man in the new world? Did I change or did my surroundings?

I cast a glance at my European books and all that I find is excessively finished. They say to me the final word about a disposition is that it is still developing in its genesis of divine blessing. God has not rested here yet. They say to me that final word about a man's capability of change, of redemption, of ruin, that to which only God gives his final word. My authors tell me the final word about a society that I see here, painfully reflects like the shadows of its old behaviors and the new.

I take the liberty to convert into a question some affirmation of the treatises. Paradoxically, upon losing certitude some problems are clarified.

What a dialogue! This (i.e., the dialog), silent, without chronicles, of a message that if it is not originally transformed, to become both the same and new, the same and something else, will only be prolonged in dependence - without creation!

The Men of Córdoba

After meditating on myself, I put some impressions in order about these men of Córdoba with whom I have dealings.

I think that they lack identity, a word that comes to me often. By identity, I mean (good or bad) a personality that is in some manner coherent with its environment, with its time, with the others. To be identified, for me, is to know who I am in relation to all the others, that they also know who I am. And the coherence necessary for this is only that of a cultural system that allows me to sense my worth and to understand the signs that my life gives them.

In this Córdoba - what do I know of other cities in the Indies? - identity is difficult. There isn't a correspondence between the social roles and the environment and the "character" which emerges from the former peasants who now rule divisions of Indians, is terrible.

The laziness that is instilled in the upper class is harmful to their identity, for which they compensate all the good that is lacking there, with the right to shun all personal service. The risk remains. Yes, they seem thrown or resigned to risk. Risks from the inside and the outside, like that susceptibility which robs them of their freedom and sincerity.

[Wood engraving of Santa Catalina by Alberto Nicasio inserted in the text here. The caption says, "Jesuit estate of Santa Catalina where Zipoli died and was buried"]

The Studies at Córdoba

I don't lack enthusiasms for my studies. I have already spoken of the books and

their limitations. I speak now of my teachers. They don't always speak of the final word of books. These are those that share my reservation and acknowledge the originality of this environment. They are investigators of the new reality; they discuss the chronicles that arrive from all the missions; they comment on the works, the difficulties, the successes; but I have the impression that what is original is farther from Córdoba, and that Córdoba is the center of maturation, and at times only the spectator of the others.

I do not mean that studying, which is also thinking in common, is not the possible instrument of creation. But our study is only an approximation of reality. Rather, it stops at the interpretation. And the interpretation is rich in abstraction, but for that very reason the analysis can near us to things ... and to alienation.

The reality or the escape from reality ... this is the ambiguity of the interpretation and this is the ambiguity of Córdoba. And the "escape" that we allow in our classrooms, where during a week we are able to be closer to the time of Saint Clement of Alexandria than to our own, is the escape that is repeated in the imitation of the model of the mother country in every family in every region.

It is difficult to recreate. I believe in some unexpected conversion, but habitually I only hope for the new and the maturity of the old. And here the maturity which we brought from our native soil could be surrendered and quickly: it sufficed to fulfill the order to continue the creation and example of the "Good Thief" who recognized right away that it was God in his midst. With this insight, with this grace, this could be a new society. Truly.

The Project and the Reality

I study tenaciously for my priesthood, but I do not give up music. Now it is not so much for the music itself as it is for the people. They say that when they hear me, they return on a day of feasting in the main church in their native city: memories, forgotten faces, tears.

This arch of the Society, this inverted keel, continues my music, but my music does not continue the disposition that surrounds me. The refinement of the counterpoint doesn't correspond to the lineal crudeness of this land scarcely penetrated by man. I feel the necessity of the simple song of centuries past or a simple melody. The Mass in F Major that I have composed is perhaps the ultimate concession to my style.

To that purpose, I speak with Lozano, but he cannot take charge of my inner problems. "It is pleasing to the people like us", he confirms to me. "Your papers are requested from our missions, from Cuzco and Lima. Let Brother Zipoli not tire of copying and composing ... "

Weariness ... I feel it, but it is not such: there is something that wants to change in me; no, it is not nostalgia, but this melancholy, what is it? They say that it is the disproportion between the project and the reality.

Jesus Maria

Weeks of study and rest in the estate of Jesus Maria; the familiar smell of the storeroom, the murmur of the water and the workshop, the gallop of the horses ...

To Return to Rome

The temptation to return to Rome reappeared a few days ago and perhaps it might also be the temptation to stay here. Nothing vindicates my doubt except that my inspiration wavers. It occurs to me that it might be enough to enter again into Il Gesù so that the *Mass* on which I am working might rise with splendor. There is something in this land that restrains it, there are problems that don't resolve themselves as before in my dreams. There is a new style that struggles within me but which is undefined.

I have at hand on my desk the letter from the Preposito of the Society. I reread it and I understand it. I am truly in the situation that he foresaw, between a style which no longer interprets me and another that I do not yet understand. But the reading about the reports of the Guarany missions allows me hope: I will go there and those Indians which they say are excellent at music, will be able to provide me the answers that I used to find before in the lucid nights of my country.

Is this returning a temptation then? I decide for myself, and reduce the letter of exemption to pieces. Here I remain.

In Santa Catalina

A final examination has declared me prepared for the ministry, but no one knows when the Bishop will arrive who will lay hands on me. I am a religious person without a priesthood and without a Mass. I am a composer who has remained without his inspiration, obligated to take up a style again that has stopped being mine again somehow. An author who has not published a work, but who has composed the most appropriate works for the natives and Spaniards of these lands.

At 37, everything in me has been cut short. Exactly in me, I wanted to conclude a career only to mature to that final stage of perfection that might be allowed to me. To mature - I thought about it in Prato - it depends on the purposes of the work that embodies the values; then I believed that I matured in the final stage. No, then I would have failed. No, I did not believe myself a failure. It would have been enough to have shown me the music that they had showed me. Melancholy is the conscience of my privation, but I cannot confess myself empty. There is Someone who waits for me and Someone who fills me. I have matured in each road traveled, because maturity is not a final stage, but rather a way of attaining it.

I have acquired consciousness of this maturity when I have accepted this insidious sickness. This year of 1725 has not given me any rest and this vacation in Santa Catalina has scarcely relieved me. I arrived with great fatigue and the first days of rest seemed like a resurrection. This church is my church because it is not out of tune with the landscape; there is a simplicity that is associated with the elegance and a certain majesty without presumption; it is not the mountains, but rather the flatness that depressed me throughout the journey that took me from Buenos Aires to Córdoba; here the evening breeze comes colored with the blue of the Apennines and of the splendor that inflames the ochres of Rome; here the mountain is not the forest, but the roughness gains a tenderness ... no, not that fern of the ditch, but certainly that of the look of the style that "dresses life" of the 2 blacks of the ranch yesterday.

I have dreamed that I said the Mass and as I did not have find the host for consecration, I beheld the Child who gives Saint Catherine the mystical marriage ring in the good linen of our altarpiece. The Child appeared to point out the Cross. I raised it then as if it were a host and I discovered my face in the Crucifix. I don't attach any

special meaning to this. Anyway, I know that my time is up.

Everything is cut short in me

If the fatigue of yesterday comes back tomorrow, I will not be able to write. Everything is cut short in me, except me myself.

Notes

Paradoxically, our Zipoli is less known in his nearly 10 years in Córdoba than in his earlier 27 in Europe. The small testimony here supplements the modest documents discovered in Italy and the Mass discovered in Sucre is not too much to continue the splendid work published in Rome.

I have made use of the rights of fiction regarding this American silence: I have explained it with a crisis of inspiration roused by our country [Argentina], unable to support the refinement of its musicians, although perhaps capable of sustaining musicians and of creating a new song.

I relate the suffering of cultural transplantation through the person of Zipoli. This transculturation has been tediously documented among us and I defer in the presence of the huge work of Furlong (Social and Cultural History of the Rio de la Plata 1536-1810 : The Cultural Transplant; Art. Buenos Aires : Tipografia Editoria Argentina, 1969. About Zipoli, 187 to 193). But recently in our days there is an understanding of the interaction between cultures and the considerable contributions of UNESCO has added to the abundant bibliography. Nonetheless, I am not aware of any documentation of the 18th century that repeats introspection of Zipoli from this angle. But neither does it seem to me an illegitimate ascription of it. In the spirit of adventure, in the novelty of America that closes the Middle Ages, there is the obscure instinct of an original situation.

The Argentine deed of transculturation is enriched in the less explored confrontation between two Jesuit civilizations, as I insinuated in the Memorias: that of Córdoba which imitates the peninsular model; that of the Guarany Missions in which they assume the aboriginal society. I don't believe that it is necessary to examine the difference to notice that with which Father Antonio Sepp tells with great interest in his Relacíone viaje a las misiones jesuíticas (EUDEBA, Buenos Aires, 1971, 3 ts.) that in Córdoba he might discover another context. The Guarany experience was thwarted by the expulsion of the Society; that notwithstanding, on the other hand, that (experience) of Córdoba had its development, only that it might be difficult to determine precisely when it is closed: in the most protracted hypothesis, we would choose the University Reform of 1918 for the appearance of the new voice and of a new expectation. Only in the Guarany Missions one might be able to doubt the Provincial, before the threat of exile, between resisting and obeying and definitely obeying, to avoid the temptation to carry out the Kingdom of God on earth, as is the exact attribution of Fritz Hochwälder in his theatre piece about the missions, Sur le terre comme au ciel. Córdoba on the other hand was able to diversify its ambitions among other functions and even human frivolities.

Zipoli is living in Córdoba, it seemed to me that he had played more than once in our incipient society. Without being an historian, I have read all of the history of Córdoba. From this wealth is born the short phrases about men and studies. And when Zipoli says a word about the future of my city, this word points out an alternate vision for Córdoba that could be an ambiguous mission: "utopia or reality."

I have explained it began on the occasion of the four centuries that Córdoba celebrated in 1973 in the reflection that I transcribed:

Of course. Utopia or reality. For a while, Córdoba has no longer lived from its single University. It is a meditation among diverse human experiences since the 400 years have not passed in vain. The university city and the conventional city lived their commitment and it is later insinuated as a military city that prepared the technicians for the industrial city. But always it has been the interior and an interior; it has always been sensitive to all the adventures, greatness, and madness of the soul; it has had a moral undercurrent, a certain perception of life for its significance, only for its materialness; for this reason it could initiate diverse experiences; without having all of them deserve to be necessarily justified because it is well known that the imagination is the *la loca de la casa*.

Our city, which has what is special and original, conserves a certain vocation to the moral perception of life; there the possibility to escape in utopias that remove it from reality, at times correct it, at times recreate it anticipating the future, but also at times charm it. Utopia could close off reality, but today in times of transformation, it could anticipate it; we repeat that is a possibility; more frequently it is the one who lives in a utopian fashion [who is] driven mad, deprived contact with life, sacrificing the plan along with his transformation. Desiring to be the future, ruining for the time the future and the present.

The sentence put in Zipoli's mouth then seems to mark an alternative for us: Córdoba as a tension between utopia and reality. Realism, is to say moreover, not either doctrinairism or opportunism. Realism is humble adherence to things; it is truly simple - of the black and white. Without boasting. Realism is accepting all the sunrises and all the sunsets, and always with the same material, with this same mediocre material of man that sometimes makes a hero.

This community that arrives at its 400th year, arched between utopia and reality - will it know to choose by the simple truth of things where it usually has more of a capacity of transformation than in the dreams?

In the memoirs attributed to Zipoli, the fiction moves between some historical and definite dates. The biggest part is based on the work by Furlong already cited, easily accessible to the reader. Some later documentary evidence are to the journal Storia e Arte of the city of Prato. Because they are more difficult, I transcribe below some of the learned commentaries of Lauro Ayestarán ("Domenico Zipoli", Revista Histórica, publication of the National Historical Museum, Año XXXV (second epoch), t. XIII, Montevideo, August 1941, number 37). The Uruguayan musicologist was the one who identified "Brother Zipoli", exhumed by Furlong, as the great composer who prematurely disappeared from Italy.

Ayestarán writes:

> From the year of his arrival in Rome until 1716, everything referring to his life is not known at this moment. However, in this same year of 1716, four fundamental facts in his existence and his work were produced: First - we find him as the organist of the Church of the Jesuits in Rome, Second - he publishes a treatise Principa seu Elementa ad bene pulsandum Organum et Cibalum, Third - he also publishes his collection of works Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo, Fourth - he goes to Seville where he enters in the novitiate of the Society of Jesus on the first of July.

Let us dwell a moment on these four facts.

First - All the extant references to Zipoli as well as the unpublished ones that we now present, concur that the one that had been named earlier was the maestro di capilla of the Church of the Jesuits in Rome. It is well known that the following obligations belonged to a kapellmeister of the 1700s (recall the case of Bach at the St. Thomas [Church] in Leipzig): to compose music for the religious festivals, to play the organ, and to prepare and direct the choir. The position of organist of one of the principal churches in Rome in the century of the flowering of the kapellmeister, was of singular importance and the fact that Zipoli was only 27 years old clearly speaks well of his musical virtues. Furthermore, between each one of the choral pieces the organist was obliged to improvise on the organ by means of preludes, tocattas, etc., to prepare the tonality with the motif with which the choir must enter immediately. This exercise of improvisation (sufficiently lost in present days) was also a fading art which united the spontaneous capability of one superendowed in music, with the most highly assimilated knowledge, in addition to an admirably mature technical domination of the instrument. Much later, in Argentina, in the presence of an astonished public of blacks, Indians, and Spaniards, it was probably heard of him: "He gave great solemnity to the religious festivals through music with no small pleasure to the Spaniards and likewise the neophytes." All of the information reaching us today through the manuals, dictionaries, and histories of music unanimously assert that Zipoli was one of the greatest organists not only in Rome, but in all of Italy and Europe. In the 1700s in which the great organists developed the most admirable theory of counterpoint in the churches, it was the time in which the young Bach went back and forth on dry and dusty roads to hear, in the church of a remote place, the supreme art of Buxtehude ...

Second - In 1716, Zipoli published a collection of works under the title of Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cembalo, which constitutes all the authentic material of his that has been preserved to date. Years later, Walsh (Handel's editor) published in his Collection of Tocattes, Voluntarys and Fugues for the Organ or Harpsichord six suites by Zipoli taken from publication by the famous French publisher, Corrette. Nonetheless, some scholars - A.G. Ritter and E.L. Gerber - attribute them to the French publisher [Corrette] who had used Zipoli's name to sell his collection more easily, authentically shows the predicament that this music enjoyed at this time.

Let us return to his authentic work. The word sonata has here a meaning which is not precisely the modern cyclic form. Sonata in the works of Zipoli has the meaning of his classic etymology: piece or pieces "per suonare", like the form of the cantata which was in principle, "per cantare". Therefore, we see his Sonate d'intavolatura. . ., which consists of two parts, is composed as a collection of works of absolutely independent character. The first [part] is formed of: *Tocatta*, *Versi*, *Canzonii*, *Elevazioni*, *Postcomunio*, and *Pastorale*; the second [part] of: *Preludii*, *Alemande*, *Correnti*, *Sarabande*, *Ghe*, *Gavotte* and *Partite*. From which one can deduce that the first volume constitutes a series of pieces for the organ of a sacred nature applicable to the offering of a mass and the second constitutes a true suite class even when the dances that it integrates do not exhibit the cohesiveness of tonal unity which defined the

classical form of the suite so supremely important in his time.

The title of the collection says Sonate d'intavolatura... The Italian word "intavolatura", (Spanish: "tablatura"; German: "tablatur"; English and French: "tablature") is nothing more than the designation of the time (over all, even earlier than the 1700s), for a musical notation system for polyphonic instruments and applied especially to the organ, clavier and the lute. The organ tablature is simply the writing for 2 voices and basso continuo, which additionally uses numbers and letters, which differs from the modern writing only in that each one of the voices generally uses more than 5 lines: the musical staff is put in sexagram, septagram, or even octogram and where one finds that the basso continuo is today complimentarily developed in notes. The tablature that is a conquest of the "Ars Nova" of the Renaissance, it is also one of the fundamental principles of modern notation. In Italy, Claudio Merullo (1533-1604) had already begun to put it into practice. The same Frescobaldi (1583-1643) from whom the music of Zipoli is directly descended, had published in Rome around 1614 his celebrated Tocatte e partiture d'intavolature di cembalo.

The Sonate of Zipoli offers the most brilliant exhibition of the Italian contrapuntal art - solid, but flexible and inspired, so remote from the formidable, but reserved Flemish contrapuntalists.

The shadow of Frescobaldi was cast over the work of Zipoli without taking away authenticity in his own right. His writing is austere, but without indifference and without the abuse of ornamentation - which removes him from the Neapolitan school - in the melody lines, able to emote without superficial baggage.

But in his Sonate it is fitting to note something even more important. We said that in Zipoli this transition between counterpoint and the simple dialog form begins working. This means that in Zipoli one clearly catches a glimpse of the transcendental passage from the horizontal writing (counterpoint) to the vertical (harmony). It is quite true that one still finds many devoted to the former, but in some works of his collection (as one finds to be the case in the well-known *Sarabande*), one feels there an incontrastable feeling of verticality. His harmonization is precise and knowledgeably weighted and in it one could not remove a single note without penalty of disturbing its well-balanced construction.

Third - In the biographical note written by Fathers Augustin and Luis de Backer, collected by Carlos Sommervogel in his extensive work Library of the Society of Jesus, (is transcribed) the title of a treatise published by Zipoli in Rome that same year (1716) written in Italian, bearing the title Principles or ideas for playing the organ and the clavier successfully (Rome, January 1716). We haven't been able to see this work which seems to us to be of singular importance in the history of the organ and the clavier, since its author was one of the greatest instrumentalists of his century. It isn't represented in any of the references that we have to Zipoli. Father Lozano said in reference to it: "He was most skilled in music as shown by a little book that he published."

Fourth - In full creative effervescence, a profound priestly and missionary

vocation (as shown by later deeds), unexpectedly came over Zipoli, and the chief organist of the Church of the Jesuits in Rome went to Seville and petitioned to be admitted to the Jesuits to prepare to go to America and was admitted in the Society of Jesus on the first of July 1716. The same Lozano says: "he had been the kapellmeister of the Confessional House in Rome and precisely when he could have expected better things, he sacrificed it all for the salvation of the Indians and set out for Paraguay. He entered the Society in Seville."

Peramás wrote in this respect: "Zipoli, a master who was of the Roman college, from whence he came to our province, permitted a sufficient sample of himself at the organ of the Cathedral of Seville." Unfortunately, nothing must have been preserved to this date. The Argentine historian, Father Guillermo Furlong communicated a little while ago to the one who writes these lines, responding to a previous consultation: "As one of his biographers would have said that many pieces of his music exist in the Cathedral of Seville, I looked for them there but did not find them."

Zipoli was in Seville 9 months, waiting for the departure with the rest of the expeditionairies, bound for the Rio de la Plata. He left from Cadiz on the fifth of April that same year [1717]. In it [the expedition] were priests who would distinguish themselves later, like Pedro Lozano - who was 20 years old, Lizardi, Primoli, Aperger, Nusdoffer, Bianchi, etc. Lozano, who later wrote the life of his companion Lizardi, relates the details of part of this expedition that was made up of between 72 and 80 religious persons. Among them was Domenico Zipoli, a humble brother who was not yet 29 years of age.

[Back matter to this work states:]

DOMENICO ZIPOLI, notable musician, born in Prato (Italy) on the 17th of October 1688 and died on the 2nd of January 1726 at the Jesuit estate of Santa Catalina (Córdoba, Argentina), probably of tuberculosis. The fragments of memoirs that the author attributes to him respect the facts established through the most recent investigation. But he freely interprets the motivations which are unknown to us, especially a crisis of interpretation, which is merely probable.

PEDRO JOSE FRIAS knows as few others do about the surroundings of the life of Domenico Zipoli. Living in Córdoba, but with a prolonged residence in Europe as an ambassador to Belgium and the Holy See, not only has he consubstantiated with the countrysides and the history, but he was able to appreciate the musical operation of Zipoli and this informed by the parallel lives of his contemporaries on the journey to the Indies.

University prizewinner, academician, and professor of Public Law, Frias continues being the same academic in the diplomatic function, in the speaker's podium at conferences, and in his substantial publication of judicial and social material. In this style he originates this interpretation of a life whose inner workings can only be judged by his works.

The second amplified edition of 1973 is also by Librería Olocco.

Furlong Cardiff, Guillermo.; "El eximo organista Domenico Zipoli: 1688-1725 (The distinguished organist Domenico Zipoli: 1716-1725) in Músicos Argentinos durante la dominacion Hispanica (Argentine musicians during the Spanish domination). Buenos Aires: Editorial Huarpes, S.A., 1944. p. 114-121.

In 1933 we published the surprising information that Domenico Zipoli, one of the great musical talents which were counted in cultured Europe in the dawning of the 18th century, not only had been in the Rio De la Plata, but moreover, had lived and performed in Córdoba and had died in said city.

It is certainly eloquent stating that the Rio de la Plata covered in its breast and lulled itself to the sound of the harmonies produced by "one of the greatest organists of all times", as a critic and modern musician historian, Lauro Ayestarán asserts (213), who adds that: "All the information that we have accumulated until now, through the handbooks, dictionaries, and musical histories unanimously assure [us] that Zipoli was one of the greatest organists - not only in Rome, or even in Italy alone, but in all of Europe." [214]

This is consigned in all the European references which circulate concerning this musician, adds Ayestarán, who afterwards records that, although still young, he [Zipoli] went to Rome, asserting that Zipoli was a refined exponent of the Roman school. Heir to the formidable organ technique of Frescobaldi, one finds in Zipoli's writings the precise point of transition between the contrapuntal and the simple dialogue formula. Unlike the ornamental excesses that were typical of the Neapolitan school, his writing is free, his melody is quite articulate, and in all of his works, shines a great contrapuntal fantasia.

Domenico Zipoli was born in Prato in Tuscany on the 11th [others state the 16th or 17th] of October, according to the Catalogs of the Province of Paraguay that correspond to the years 1720 and 1724, and while still young, he went to Rome. He was the music master of the Church of Jesus in Rome, when he decided to join the Society of Jesus and went to the missions of Paraguay. Without much ado, and knowing that in Seville Father Bartolome Jimenez, along with 72 missionaries were awaiting a ship in which to go to the Rio de la Plata, he left for that city [Seville]. On the first of June, 1716, he was admitted to the Society of Jesus and joined in with the expeditionairies. His musical reputation was so great that, despite his status as a simple novice, he was needed for the kapellmeister of the great cathedral of Seville and we know that from the middle of the same year of 1716 through March 1717, the date that he went down to Cadiz, "he gave a sufficient example of himself", as father Peramás said later. On the fifth of April the ship in which the distinguished musician went, left Cadiz and in July of the same year landed in Buenos Aires. He left shortly afterwards for Córdoba and there undertook his ecclesiastical studies. The Catalog of 1724 tells us that up until that year he had taken 3 years of philosophy and three of theology. A year later and while in the final year of theology, Zipoli died to the immense sorrow of not only the Jesuits of Córdoba, but also to the whole population who admired the musical genius of this incomparable artist. We do not know the cause of his death, although the mention [of Zipoli] in the Catalog of 1724 says that his health was good, "vires integrae". He died at the end of December 1725, while on vacation at the estate of Santa Catalina, which induces the suspicion that he must have had some kind of an accident: a fall from a horse, sunstroke, etc. [215]

We have outlined this biography of Zipoli so that the reader might more easily and truly appreciate the commentaries which, with his usual musical learnedness, Lauro

Ayestarán has left us regarding the artistic labor of Zipoli. Alluding to his [Zipoli's] joining the Society of Jesus, Ayestarán writes this treatise: in the same year of 1716, four fundamental points in his existence and work of Zipoli are produced: 1.) we find him as the organist of the Church of the Jesuits in Rome, 2.) he publishes his work Principia seu Elementa ad bene pulsandum Organum et Cimbalum, 3.) he also publishes his collection of works Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo, 4.) he goes to Seville (Spain) "where he enters in the novitiate of the Society of Jesus on the first of June." [216]

According to all the musical accounts to date, the only things known about Zipoli are that in 1716 he was the organist of the Jesuits in Rome and that he published there his "Sonata d'intavolatura. . ." there. We also know that in 1716 he published his work about the organ and joined the Society with the express purpose to go to the missions of Paraguay.

Let us dwell for a moment on these four points, Mr. Ayestarán writes: [217]

1. All the extant references to Zipoli as well as the unpublished ones that we now present, concur that he had been named prior to that date as the kapellmeister of the Church of the Jesuits in Rome. It is well known that the following obligations belonged to a kapellmeister of the 1700s (recall the case of Bach at the St. Thomas [Church] in Leipzig): to compose music for the religious festivals, to play the organ, and to prepare and direct the choir. The position of organist of one of the principal churches in Rome in the century of the flowering of the kapellmeister, was of singular importance and the fact that Zipoli was only 27 years old clearly speaks well of his musical virtues. Furthermore, between each one of the choral pieces the organist was obliged to improvise on the organ by means of preludes tocattas, etc., to prepare the tonality with the motif with which the choir must enter immediately. This exercise of improvisation (sufficiently lost in nowadays) was also a fading art which united the spontaneous capability of one superendowed in music, with the highest, completely assimilated knowledge, in addition to an admirably mature technical domination of the instrument. Much later, in Argentina, in the presence of an astonished public of blacks, Indians, and Spaniards, it was probably heard of him: "He gave great solemnity to the religious festivals through music with no small pleasure to the Spaniards and likewise the neophytes."

2. In 1716, Zipoli published a collection of works under the title of Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cembalo, which constitutes all the authentic material of his that has been preserved to date. Years later, Walsh (Handel's editor) published in his Collection of Tocattes, Voluntarys and Fugues for the Organ or Harpsichord six suites by Zipoli taken from a publication by the famous French publisher, Corrette. Nonetheless, some scholars - A. G. Ritter and E. L. Gerber - attribute them to the French publisher [Corrette] who had used Zipoli's name to sell his collection more easily, authentically shows the predicament that this music enjoyed at this time.

Let us return to his authentic work. The word sonata has here a meaning which is not precisely the modern cyclic form. Sonata in the works of Zipoli has the meaning of his classic etymology: piece or pieces "per suonare", like the form of the cantata which was in principle, "per cantare". Therefore, we see his "Sonate d'intavolatura. . .", which consists of two parts, is composed as a collection of works of absolutely independent character. The first [part] is formed of: *Tocatta*, *Versi*, *Canzonii*, *Elevazioni*, *Postcomunio*, and *Pastorale*; the second [part] of: *Preludii*, *Alemande*, *Correnti*, *Sarabande*, *Gighe*, *Gavotte* and *Partite*. From which one can deduce that the first volume constitutes a series of pieces for the organ of a sacred nature applicable to the offering of a mass and the second constitutes a true suite class even when the dances that it integrates do not exhibit the cohesiveness of tonal unity which defined the classical form of the

suite so supremely important in his time.

The title of the collection says "Sonate d' intavolatura". The Italian word "intavolatura", (Spanish: "tablatura"; German: "tablatur"; English and French: "tablature") is nothing more than the designation of the time (especially, even earlier than the 1700s), for a musical notation system for polyphonic instruments and applied especially to the organ, clavier and the lute. The organ tablature is simply the writing for 2 voices and basso continuo, which additionally uses numbers and letters, which differs from the modern writing only in that each one of the voices generally uses more than 5 lines: the musical staff is put in sexagram, septagram, or even octogram and where one finds that the basso continuo is today completely developed in notes. The tablature is a conquest of the "Ars Nova" of the Renaissance, it is also one of the fundamental principles of modern notation. In Italy, Claudio Merullo (1533-1604) had already begun to put it into practice. The same Frescobaldi (1583-1643) from whom the music of Zipoli is directly descended, had published in Rome around 1614 his celebrated Tocatte e partiture d'intavolature di cembalo.

The Sonate of Zipoli offers the most brilliant exhibition of the Italian contrapuntal art - solid, but flexible and inspired, so remote from the formidable, but reserved Flemish contrapuntalists.

The shadow of Frescobaldi was cast over the work of Zipoli without taking away authenticity in his own right. His writing is austere, but without indifference and without the abuse of ornamentation - which removes him from the Neapolitan school - in the melody lines, it is able to emote without superficial baggage.

But in his Sonate it is fitting to note something even more important. We said that in Zipoli this transition between counterpoint and the simple dialogue form begins working. This means that in Zipoli one clearly catches a glimpse of the transcendental passage from the horizontal writing (counterpoint) to the vertical (harmony). It is quite true that one still finds many devoted to the former, but in some works of his collection (as one finds to be the case in the well-known *Sarabande*), one feels there an incontrastable feeling of verticality. His harmonization is precise and knowledgeably weighted and in it one could not remove a single note without penalty of disturbing its balanced construction.

3. In the biographical note written by Fathers Augustin and Luis de Backer, collected by Carlos Sommervogel in his extensive work Library of the Society of Jesus, (is transcribed) the title of a treatise published by Zipoli in Rome that same year (1716) written in Italian, bearing the title Principles or ideas for playing the organ and the clavier successfully (Rome, January 1716). We haven't been able to see this work which seems to us to be of singular importance in the history of the organ and the clavier, since its author was one of the greatest instrumentalists of his century. It isn't represented in any of the references that we have to Zipoli.

Father Lozano said in reference to it: "He was most skilled in music as shown by a little book that he published." [218]

4. In full creative effervescence, a profound priestly and missionary vocation (as shown by later deeds), unexpectedly came over Zipoli, and the chief organist of the Church of the Jesuits in Rome went to Seville and petitioned to be admitted to the Jesuits to prepare to go to America and was admitted in the Society of Jesus on the first of July 1716. The same Lozano says: "he had been the kapellmeister of the Confessional House in Rome and precisely when he could have expected better things, he sacrificed it all for

the salvation of the Indians and set out for Paraguay. He entered the Society in Seville." [219]

Peramás wrote in this respect: "Zipoli, a master who was of the Roman college, from whence he came to our province, left a sufficient sample of himself at the organ of the Cathedral of Seville." [220]

Zipoli was in Seville 9 months, waiting for the departure with the rest of the expeditionairies, bound for the Rio de la Plata. He left from Cadiz on the fifth of April that same year [1717]. In it [the expedition] were priests who would distinguish themselves later, like Pedro Lozano - who was 20 years old, Lizardi, Primoli, Aperger, Nusdoffer, Bianchi, etc. Lozano, who later wrote the life of his companion Lizardi, relates the details of the departure of this expedition that was made up of between 72 and 80 clergy. Among them was Domenico Zipoli, a humble brother who was not yet 29 years of age. [221]

The ship that carried Zipoli landed in Buenos Aires in July of 1717 and from there, Zipoli went on to Córdoba to finish his studies and where, at the same time, he occupied the post or duties of the chief organist of the Church of the Jesuits, the same magnificent and impressive [church] that still exists and which constitutes the greatest religious monument of the colonial era - like the city hall of Buenos Aires was and is the most relevant civic monument to the Argentine past.

At the [time of the] arrival of Zipoli, Córdoba was a ferment of superior culture that radiated around its university which was also founded by the Jesuits about 100 years earlier and was directed by them with so much prestige and intellectual heritage.

Concerning the life and performance of Zipoli in Córdoba, we know of few, but varied kinds of definitive references, adds Ayestarán. [222] Organist of the Jesuit church in that locale, records of his brilliant performance endure in documents after his death. So Peramás writes at the end of the 18th century:

> Some excellent priests in that art [music] had come to our province from Europe who taught the Indians of the villages to sing and the blacks of the college to play sonorous instruments. But none of them was more illustrious or accomplished more deeds than Domenico Zipoli (formerly a Roman musician), in whose perfect harmony nothing more sweet or more crafted could be imagined. [223]

Father Lozano, who happened to hear him, gives us this reliable commentary:

> He was most accomplished at music as shown by the little book that he published. He had been the kapellmeister of the the Confessional House in Rome and precisely when he could have expected better things, he sacrificed all for the salvation of the Indians and set out for Paraguay. He entered the Society [of Jesus] in Seville. He gave great solemnity to the religious festivals through music with no small pleasure to the Spaniards as well as the neophytes . . . great was the number of people that went to our church with the desire to hear him play so beautifully. [224]

The esteemed Peramás writes this other commentary about his performance in Córdoba:

> The vespers services which lasted almost all afternoon were enjoyed

> greatly by all the religious persons who assisted, especially when there lived the composer, who was one of our brothers - a theologian, called Zipoli, a master who was from the Roman College, from whence he came to our province. [225]

But when more might have been expected of his genius and "paying tribute as was due" according to Lozano, Domenico Zipoli died in Córdoba on the second day of January 1726 at 38 years of age and nine years after he had set foot on American soil for the first time. [226]

Six years after the death of Brother Zipoli, Father Jeronimo Herran visited the Guarany village of Santiago and on the 20th of February 1732, left these lines in his memorial of that date: "Try to improve at music, which is quite wont for voices, especially sopranos and for good instrumentalists, and pay attention to learning and practicing the music of Brother Zipoli, to become the best." [227]

In 1775, that is 49 years after his death and 8 years after the expulsion of the Jesuits from America, Father Jaime Oliver, remembering the times in which the natives were instructed by the Jesuits who converted them into accomplished musicians writes:

> And truly they deserve the title "masters" (he refers to the Indians), since they know it [music] with perfection and perhaps compose quite well, although that isn't a necessity since they have the compositions of the best of Italy and Germany (that were) used by the lawyers and missionaries who were in those parts (the author writing from Europe) and those of Zipoli. [228]

Unfortunately, [with] the expulsion of the Jesuits ordered by Charles III in 1767, these works were lost. To show conclusively the existence and the great abundance of musical scores after the celebrated collection which bore the title, Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo, I include these definitive words of Father Lozano: "he composed different compositions for the church, requested by the Viceroy of Lima, a city in South America, since they were requested from enormous distances by mail." [229]

Such are the references that we have about Brother Zipoli, who Mr. Lauro Ayestarán does not hesitate to call "one of the greatest organists of all time", and without doubt he should be judged for his antecedents and his merits. [230]

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The organ before and after Zipoli

Already in 1585, we find a mention of the existence of an organ in the city of Santiago del Estero. "Upon arriving in that year, the people paid tribute to him in an official reception and upon entering the church, they played the organ and bells." [231] In 1607, the Franciscan fathers completed the acquisition of an organ (232) and to help pay for it a certain Davila bequeathed 10 pesos: "Next, I have ordered 10 pesos to be given to help pay for the organ of the Convent of S. Francis of this city as charity."

Before 1620, Buenos Aires relied on an organ in its cathedral and, as we already explained, it was the primary providence of Msgr. Carranza, who did not become the governor of the diocese, nor officially named "expert" organist. [233]

In 1627, the Convent of the Carmelites was founded in Córdoba, and as we have

indicated much earlier, it was the ordered by founder the condition for which the religious ones might have an organ and learn the song of the organ." [234] An organist of some of the churches in Córdoba must have been Captain Lopez Correa, who had, in 1641, "4 books of song for the organ." [235]

In 1663, the ship San Pedro arrived at the port of Buenos Aires, coming down from Cadiz, and in its storeroom carried "an organ, a box of musical instruments, and a box of religious music", whose presumed destination was the city of Córdoba. [236]

Perhaps this was the organ which, with the passage of years, to the delight of the people of Córdoba, had been played knowledgeably and gracefully by the distinguished Zipoli [...]

Notes:

[213] Lauro Ayestarán, "Domenico Zipoli - The great Roman composer and organist of the 1700s in the Rio de la Plata", Montevideo, 1941. It is an article in the Revista Historica, Publication of the National Historical Museum, vol. 35, 2nd epoch, t. XIII, Montevideo, August 1941, n. 37, pp. 47-55.

[214] Lauro Ayestarán, cf. note 213.

[215] Upon the occasion of the Ayestarán's publication, another musicologist was also engaged in, and with singular persistence, a clarification of the biographical facts about Zipoli. Cf., Victor de Rubertis, "Un misterio svelato dopo piu di due secoli Domenico Zipoli, il grande organista e compositore italiano mori in Argentina. In La Silurante Musicale, vol IX, n.36, Buenos Aires, February 1942, pp. 1-3.

[216] He didn't enter the Society of Jesus of Seville, he remained therefore as a member of the Jesuit Province of Andalucia; rather, in that city he was admitted into the Province of Paraguay by Father Bartolome Jimenez, governor of that province which he [Zipoli] encountered there [in Seville] at the time preparing the expedition of 1716.

[217] As Mr. Lauro Ayestarán recognized, it was our study about music and song which appeared in The Jesuits and the Rioplatenese Culture, Montevideo 1933, p.80-81, that revealed the arrival and the settlement of Zipoli in the Americas after 1716.

[218] Pedro Lozano. Cartas Annuas de 1720-1730. Photocopy in the Archive of the Province of Argentina of the Society of Jesus.

[219] In the form that we explained in note 216.

[220] Jose Peramás. De vita et moribus tredecim virorum, Faenza 1793.

[221] Pedro Lozano. "Life and virtues of the venerable martyr, Father Julian de Lizardi", which is found on pp. 103-267 of a work by Kenelm Vaughan, Discovery of the remains of the venerable Father Julian de Lizardi, Buenos Aires, 1901.

[222] Lauro Ayestarán. . . .cf. n. 213.

[223] Jose Peramás. . . .cf. n. 220.

[224] Jose Peramás. . . .cf. n. 220.

[225] Jose Peramás. . . .cf. n. 220.

[226] Pedro Lozano. Cartas Annuas, cf. n. 218.

[227] General Archive of the nation: Society of Jesus, 1732. It can also be inferred that the influence of Zipoli was notable from the statement which Father Lorenzo Rillo delivered on the 20th of March 1728, following a visit to the Reduction of Itapua: "An Indian called Jose worked hard at the organ, which he learned in Córdoba, such that this was his daily and principal job and he trained some other boy; and he if missed some of the papers of Brother Zipoli, which will be liberally loaned to him when they are moved to Yapeyú or Córdoba (General Archive of the Nation: Society of Jesus, 1728)."

[228] A brief record of the numerous and florid Guarany Christendom, fol. 16: Archive of Loyola, Azpeitia, Spain.

[229] Pedro Lozano. . . .cf. n. 218.

[230] Victor de Rubertis, cf. n. 215, expresses a similar sentiment and recently has included the name of Zipoli in his Little Musical Dictionary, Buenos Aires, 1944. p. 95.

[231] Antonio Astrain, History of the Society of Jesus in the presence of Spain, Madrid, t. 4, p. 608.

[232] Pedro J. Grenón. . . .cf. n. 88, p. 6.

[233] cf. pp. 71-72.

[234] According to what we have been recently told in the Convent, and it is an old tradition among the nuns who live there, the organ that exists in the Provincial Museum of Córdoba is the same on that functioned in that monastery not only during the 18th century, but also in the preceding century, or rather since the founding of the same [monastery]. We are illustrating this monograph with some photographs of this organ.

[235] Pedro J. Grenón. . . .cf. n 88, p. 11.

[236] General Archive of the Indies: 3-12-725.

Furlong, Guillermo. Los Jesuitas y la cultura rioplatense. Buenos Aires : Universidad del Salvador, 1984. 3rd ed. p. 129.

The Italian Jesuit Pablo Anesanti was succeeded by Verger, and both by the distinguished Italian musician, Domenico Zipoli. Peramás writes that good musicians were never lacking among the Jesuits of the Province of Paraguay, but, adds the historian

> no one excelled more than the musician Domenico Zipoli, who had come from one of the churches of Rome and of whose musical talent it could be said that it was most singular, and that anyone who once heard some of the pieces of music that he composed, afterward could not find any pleasure in the musical works of other authors. [16]

The Annuas tell us that he died at the beginning of 1726 when he had just finished his theological studies in Córdoba and after praising his musical talents, it [the Annuas] recalls that he gave a good account of them [his talents] in the many musical pieces that he composed in a book that he published. This, according to the biographers, was written in the Italian language and published in Rome during the year 1716 with the following title which we give in Spanish: Principles or notions for playing the organ and the trumpet with skill.

Zipoli spent the last years of his life in Córdoba.

Notes:

[16] Peramás, De vita et moribus sex sacerdotum, p. 294.

[The text pertaining to Zipoli in this edition does not vary from that which appears in the first edition.]

Furlong, Guillermo, S.J. Historia Social y Cultural del Rio de la Plata 1536-1810 : el Trasplante Social. Buenos Aires : Tipografica Editoria Argentina, 1969. p.139.

It is not at all strange that the popular music of the colonial times had infinite sympathizers, while culture or music, that of the great European masters, had great acceptance in the salons of the families of high social rank; so much that there was scarcely a home of social prominence that did not have its piano and as we will show in another chapter, all of the great European composers were known. One of them, not inferior to Manuel de Falla, came to the Río de la Plata and was an Orfeus to the Córdobans who had the good fortune to hear him play his music. We are referring to Domenico Zipoli.

Unfortunately, all this popular music has been lost, since it had not been written down, although recently some curious pieces of this nature have been found and assure us that the music of many songs of the 17th and 18th century are the same as the tunes that not a few payadores[1] sang in the provinces such as Calamarca, La Rioja, Tucumán, and Santiago de Estero.

Notes:

[1] A payador is one who sings an improvised song accompanied on the guitar.

Furlong, Guillermo, S.J. Misiones y sus pueblos de guaranies. Buenos Aires : s.n., 1962. p. 324, 488.

Along with the Father Procurator Francisco Borgués, the Sicilians Onofre Carpino, Antonio Pérula, and Pablo Dordini arrived in the country in 1711, truly few and of harmless activity, but in 1717 in an expedition organized by Father Bartolomé Jiménez brought the following to the Río de la Plata: Manuel Querini, native of the island of Zante; Domingo Bandiera, born in Sienna; Hipólito Angelita of Macerata in the province of Ancona; Tomás Grafiña, Roman; Domingo Zípoli of Prato in the bishopric of Florence; Estaban Palozzi, originally from Roca; Luis Luis Corbet, born in Sallaches in the French Savoy; Carlos Fabinessi and José Labizaro, also Romans; Francisco Leoni, Florentine; Francisco Moreca and Martín Gorzoti, Genoans; Juan Pedro Ricalbi, native of Nice; José Matorana, coming from Palermo and the natives of Rome Pablo Calero and Andrés Bianchi. The latter was an architect by profession and multiple evidences of his artistic talent still remain. There was also the Italian and great architect Juan Prímoli who came on the same expedition as he [Bianchi] and competed with him thus in the modernity and good taste, as in the solidness of his construction [...]

[...] To conclude this chapter we would say that the fame of the Guarany Indians at the beginning of the 17th century had already begun to go beyond the American frontiers and if it awakened magnificent talents in Belgium, France, and Germany such as those of Vasseau, Comentale, Berger, and Sepp, then it happened in Italy to surpass such exultation in one of the greatest musical geniuses who had glorified Italian music, who joined the Society of Jesus with the most ardent desire to work among the Guaranies, he abandoned his fatherland and went to the Río de la Plata in 1716. We refer to Domingo Zipoli, of whom Torchi wrote "he is one of the major masters who came from Italy and unfortunately one of the most forgotten", and Weitzmann affirms that Zipoli was "the most important author of the school which we ought to consider the direct emanation from Frescobaldi and Pasquini."

Furlong, Guillermo. "Domenico Zipoli, Músico Eximo en Europa y América". pp. 418-428.

If the Society of Jesus counts other musicians of equal lineage as Domenico Zipoli, their historians and biographers have failed to recognize them. Yet Zipoli had been one of many for de Backer[1], for Sommervogel[2], and for Rivière[3]. Even ourselves, upon making known the services rendered by Zipoli in the Rio de la Plata in 1933[4], had not suspected that this modest Jesuit had been in Italy before his joining the Society and moving to America, one of the most brilliant composers of the 18th century. Due first of all to the Uruguayan musicologist, Lauro Ayestarán[5], and secondly to the musical critic Victor de Rubertis[6], the name of Zipoli has been raised from the neglect in which he lay with respect to his activities after 1716.

De Rubertis has affirmed that "it is obvious that Domenico Zipoli is one of the most important and brilliant composers of the 18th century"[7] and he cites 4 testimonies of other such historians of music:

Torchi affirms[8] that Zipoli is "one of the best masters that Italy had, and unfortunately also one of the most neglected."

Torrefranca writes[9]:

> The new idea of music preceded the new idea of poetry and art: they spread all the longing of the new life in its abstract form before others. We will realize it easily, meditating on the musical pages of our most famous composers: of the two Gabriellis to Vivaldi, of Corelli to those of Veracini, of Zipoli to Boccherini.

A. Bonaventura writes[10]:

> In the works of Zipoli modern harmony is affirmed: the true musicality of the contents is associated with a highly developed virtuosity, with which the author seems to want to exceed the capacity of the clavier, presaging that of the piano; the style is of an incomparable agility and variety.

Finally, K. F. Weitzmann[11] assures us that Zipoli is "the most important author of the school that we ought to consider as a direct emanation of Frescobaldi and Pasquini."

Until we published the information in 1933 that one Domenico Zipoli, who was a distinguished musician, had come to the Río de la Plata in 1717 and that he had died in Córdoba in 1726, no one had bothered to elucidate his biographical details, which lay in the shadows. The information relating to the life of Zipoli that could be found in some encyclopedias or musicological manuals were limited as well as erroneous. The previously cited Victor de Rubertis synthesizes them so:

> Born about 1675 in Nola: pupil at the Conservatorio della Pieta dei Turchini in Naples; in 1696 he went to Rome where in 1716 he was organist of the *Chiesa de Gesù*; in said year he published the Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo; we don't know where or when he ended his days.[13]

It was from this vague information that Pannian came to write that "the fame of

Zipoli and that of those in history who are surrounded in darkness, makes us seriously doubt their reality."

De Rubertis adds:

> Obfuscating that idea, Pannain[14] adds that any pieces that one finds in the volume of Zipoli are not by Zipoli, since he had found manuscript copies of some of those pieces in the Biblioteca di San Pietro in Maiella: one is under the name of Durante[15] and another under the name of Scarlatti. Naturally such a statement is without support, primarily since those manuscripts are not autographs of Durante or Scarlatti, but the work of copyists, that by errors or other causes of which we are unaware, wrote those names, and since the music by Zipoli contained in the volume denotes only one style. After all, Pannain calls Zipoli, "a musician to whom writers on musical matters have attributed some importance."[16]

The historians always asserted that Zipoli was a native of Nola in the Kingdom of Naples; but Father Lozano[17], who had lived with him, left written, unknown in Italy, that he was born in Prato in Tuscany. In modern times, and with evident error, Father Ernest M. Rivière asserted that he was born in Rieti.

De Rubertis has come upon the baptismal certificate of Zipoli. It was found in the church of Prato:

> On the 17th of October 1688, Domenico by Sabatino by Angioli Zipoli, of this parish of the Cathedral, and of Eugenia by Sebastiano Varrochi, his wife, born the seventh hour of the previous day, brought to the Cathedral and to me to be baptized. Father Antonio by Francesco Giullari.[19]

Having explained the place of birth of Zipoli is an important fact with regard to the character of his music, since at the end of the 17th century in Naples and Florence signified 2 traditions and 2 separate musical cultures; and since, on the other hand, the same musicologists who gave the place of Zipoli's birth near Naples could not have fit his music into the Neapolitan school of his time - I abandoned them in favor of the information of Lozano with respect to the Tuscan origin of Zipoli.[20]

But today we know that he wasn't born in Nola, nor was he a student of the Conservatorio della Pieta dei Turchini of Naples, since in a 100-volume manuscript existing in the old Conservatorio of Naples, in which the history of this institution is found, "nothing about the name of our musician appears."[21] De Rubertis confirms that if he had gone to Rome in 1696, when he was close to eight years of age, it is presumable that he would have done his studies in the Eternal City; but we have no evidence on record of his journey to Rome at that period of his life.

On a date that is unknown to us, he went to Rome, where he came to stand out as a musician. Father Peramás[22] writes in one of his monographs that he was "a musician in Rome" or "Roman musician" and in another of his historical works[23] he specifies that he [Zipoli] was teacher in the Roman College; while Lozano[24], who had close relations with him [Zipoli] and was the official historian of the Society in Paraguay, informs us that "he had been the kapellmeister of the Confessional House in Rome, a title that Zipoli gives himself on the title page of the only work that he published during his lifetime. For him to be a teacher in the Romano College and kapellmeister in the Confessional House is not contradictory. It is possible that he practiced both jobs successively or simultaneously. For his part, Father José Cardiel wrote in 1767 that Zipoli had been musician of San Juan

de Letrán.[25]

Moreover, we know that he had finished two works in 1716[26]: a theoretical work in the Italian language about the Principles or notions for playing the organ and harpsichord successfully which wasn't published, and a collection of musical compositions, published in Rome in the year 1716 with the title: Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo.

Ayestarán warns[27] that in the work of Zipoli *Sonate* does not have the modern meaning, except simply that of pieces "per suonare" [for playing]; and that *intavolatura*, in the terminology of the time, derived principally from Frescobaldi, signified the musical annotation for polyphonic instruments. For the Uruguayan critic, in the Sonatas of Zipoli "one clearly catches a glimpse of the important passage from the horizontal writing (counterpoint) to vertical writing (harmony)."

In 1716 then, when as Lozano[28] phrases it "great things might have been expected of him", he left all to cross the seas and pass his life among the American natives. "In full creative effervescence" as Ayestarán has accurately written, "a profound priestly vocation came over him."[29]

In 1710, Fathers Diego Ruiz, Bartolomé Jiménez, and José de Aguirre were chosen as the procurators of the Province of Paraguay before the courts of Madrid and Rome. The latter two went to Europe, one of their objectives being to recruit the necessary workers in the Old World for the missions of the Province of Paraguay. Effectively, when Father Jiménez was in Rome, they assembled to the missionary Father Hipólito Angelita, of Macerata, in the Marca de Ancona, who was about 30 years old and the young Jesuits Domingo Bandiera of Sienna; Manuel Querini or Viterbo; Antonio Faruli of Florence; Martín Garzoli of Genoa; Francisco Leoni also of Florence, and the Romans Tomás Grafigna, Esteban Pasoli, Carlos Fabenensi, José Labizarro, Pablo Calero, Felipe Zetari and Andrés Bianchi.[30]

We cannot precisely determine the date or dates in which these Romans went to Seville in Spain where they must have left for America; but it is evident that they were in the Spanish city in the middle of December of 1716. At this time, and on the official list of the 53 Jesuits who hoped to depart for the Río de la Plata, "Brother Domingo Zipoli, philosopher, of Prato, bishopric of Florence; 28 years old"[31] occupies the 26th place.

If Zipoli stayed in Seville for nine months awaiting departure - as Lozano affirms[32], and it [the departure] was only in the beginning of April of 1717, we must conclude that he arrived in that city in July or August of the preceding year. The triennial catalog of Paraguay of 1720 gives us the precise date of his joining the Society as the first of July of 1716 and the one of 1724 gives June the first of the same year.[33] The first of January of 1716 he was still found in Rome and he dedicated his Sonate to the Princess Forano; but at any rate, Zipoli did not enter into the Province of Rome or that of Andalusia to later transfer to that of Paraguay, rather he was directly admitted to the latter.[34]

With that group of young Italians, among them some were perhaps friends of his and with his household goods and music paper and some copies of his book, published a little earlier, Zipoli crossed the Mediterranean as was most ordinary and disembarked in Barcelona, Málaga, or Cadíz from whence he went to Seville.

He stayed none months in that city and, according to Peramás, "he left a sufficient specimen of himself at the organ of the Cathedral of Seville"; but Cardiel adds other

his exile in Italy, that the reductions of the Indians had "compositions of the best of Italy and Germany, brought by the procurators and missionaries who were there from those places, and the works of Zipoli."

Returning to the thread of the biography of Zipoli, we have to submit that, in the middle of December of 1725, as was the tradition, the young students of the Society of Jesus went to the estate of Santa Catalina, northeast of the city of Córdoba and about 50 kilometers from the same, to rest there for two months from the intellectual tasks of the year. We know that it was given to riding and equally known for swimming there. There ended the days of Brother Zipoli, two days into January of 1726.

Pedro Lozano quickly entered his death in the Cartas Annuas of 1720-1730[44], Father Diego Gonzalez in his Catálogo de la que fue provincia del Paraguay desde la intimación del arresto en el mes de julio de 1767 entered this heading: "Brother Domenico Zipoli. Estancia, Córdoba, 1725." But in a letter of Father Manuel Querini, written in January of 1726 (without an indication of the day) and whose addressee was Brother Francisco Pino, we find confirmation of the date indicated by Lozano: "You know, my brother, that in April of the past year it pleased God to take to Himself our Father Burgés and on the second day of this month, Brother Zipoli."[45] Father Francisco Burgés actually died on the 24th of April 1725. What we cannot explain in this missive is the fact that the memory of Zipoli is joined to that of Burgés. Perhaps he was a known admirer of the music of the former. Perhaps there was no other reason to associate the two names except for the fact that they were the latest two who had passed into eternity from Córdoba, and that Querini thought in the *hodie mihi, cras tibi* [My turn today, yours tomorrow].

The psychological and spiritual characteristics that Lozano gives us are few, but they are sufficient enough for us to form a complete portrait of him that corresponds to a modest and unaffected man, generous and humane, virtuous and pious, no less than excellent in the philosophic and theologic studies, and very distinguished and without second in the musical art.

In Córdoba, as well as in Seville and Rome

> as kapellmeister, Zipoli must have realized the triple mission that corresponded to a "Cantor" in the time of Johann Sebastian Bach: musical composer, director of the choir, and playing the organ, all to which he had to add the classes that without a doubt would have been dictated by the old Córdoban university. Unfortunately ... none of the first (that is, of his work as a composer) has come down to us, even when we do not despair of finding a sample of them some day which would have transcendent importance - not only for the American but also for the European musical art.

Thus writes Ayestarán and below he shows that the works of Zipoli existed, since they exist in the previously cited testimony of Rillo and Oliver and he adds: "Unfortunately, upon the expulsion of the Jesuits, dictated by Charles III in 1767, these works were lost."[48]

Perhaps to some degree the expulsion of the Jesuits was the cause of the loss of the papers of Zipoli, but we have to acknowledge that between 1767 and 1810 the resurgence of the musical ideas of the past was no less disastrous than that between 1810 and 1950. In this century, there have been only two students among us, Carlos Vega and Francisco Curt Lange, who have been occupied with discovering and preserving the old

information: "they offered him the job of kapellmeister in the Cathedral of that city, but he did not accept such an honorable position 'to enter into the Society'."[35]

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The 54 Jesuits embarked at the beginning of April of 1717, and on the fifth day of that month they set sail from Cadíz, bound for the New World. In addition to the Italian Jesuits mentioned above, there went in this expedition men of such stature as Nusdorfer, Aperger, Lizardi, famous missionaries all three, and Primoli and Bianchi, architects of huge action in South America, both in Spanish cities as well as in the reductions of the Rioplatenese natives.

In July of 1717, the travelers arrived in Buenos Aires after a peaceful crossing. Only at the mouth of the Río de la Plata did a storm lash the three ships, breaking masts and sails; five sailors were thrown into the water of the river, two of them perished and the other three were saved.

The talented musician, recently arrived from Italy was 2 weeks in Buenos Aires, resting from the long and uncomfortable trip, finally departed in a slow oxcart, with a destination of Córdoba, in whose Colegio Maximo and University he was to finish his studies.

The Catalog of 1720 tells us that he had already taken the vows of the two-year period and studied two years of philosophy; the one of 1724 informs us that at that time Zipoli had studied three years of philosophy and also another three of the four years of theology. If in that year that he took the fourth, he would have become ordained at the end of the same course, as was usual; even more so if the bishop of the diocese, Don Alfonso de Pozo y Silva, was in Córdoba at the time, since it was in September of the following year (1725) when he went to Santiago, Chile to whose archbishopal seat he had been promoted by the Apostolic See.

We do not know the reason why Zipoli was not ordained a priest in 1724, since the Catalog of that year, at least implicitly, asserts that he was then in his fourth year of theology. It was not because he had to repeat a course, since Lozano asserts that he had been an excellent student in the study of theology as well as in philosophy. Perhaps his health was not good and he was forced to interrupt his studies, but it is precisely in the Catalog of 1724 that we are told that his physical powers were "integrae", that is, excellent. Be that as it may, it is certain that he finished his studies in 1725, and like the Roman Stephan Fabri, the Savoyan Luis Charles and the Andalucians Juan Francisco Valdvieso and Salvador Rubio, he could not receive the sacraments of ordination for lack of a bishop, since Don Alonso Pozo y Silva had gone to Chile. When his successor, the Bishop Sarrecolea y Olea arrived in Córdoba in the middle of 1726, Zipoli had already departed to eternity.

Finished with his ecclesiastical studies and unable to be ordained and administer the sacraments, Zipoli had to consecrate his pastime to his musical inclinations, and it was without a doubt at this time, more than previously, when he had so extraordinarily called attention to himself in Córdoba, according to the account of Father Pedro Lozano in the Cartas Annuas of 1720 to 1730[37].

José Manuel Peramás, who arrived in Córdoba years after the death of Zipoli, but who heard what tradition still spread, wrote that the religious festivals in Córdoba were most solemn, most of all the one of Saint Ignatius, the 31st of July, who was the founder of the Society of Jesus and patron of the university in whose church the ceremonies of

worship took place:

> The music belonged, since it was very beautiful and full of instruments. The vespers, which lasted nearly all evening, were quite agreeable to all the religious ones (or religious orders) who assisted, principally when the composer lived, who was a brother in our theology, called Zipoli, a teacher of the Roman College, from whence he came to our province, and he gave a sufficient example of himself at the organ of the Cathedral of Seville.[38]

The same Peramás, referring to the music in the cities, wrote that they:

> [...] had no other music than that nurtured by the Jesuits. Some priests who were excellent in that art had gone to the province from Europe, they taught the Indians of the villages to sing and the blacks of the college to play sonorous instruments: but none was more famous, nor more finished than Domenico Zipoli, formerly a Roman musician, in whose perfect harmony nothing more sweet or polished could be imagined. While he composed different compositions for the church, they were requested by mail from remote places, even by the Viceroy of Lima, a city in South America, and while he was justly dedicated to the most serious study of letters, he died, to the great sorrow of all; and in truth, whomever had heard something of the music of Zipoli only once, hardly anything else would be as pleasant, something like when one eats honey, to eat some other food is bothersome and not as pleasing.[39]

In the Latin version of his Diario de la expulsión, known by the title Annus patiens, the same Peramás writes, referring to the Guarany Reductions:

> *Penetrarunt etiam eo compositiones musicae Zipoli, iesuitae provinciae Paraquariae, musici olim Romae, quem ah nimium immatura mors mutum reddit; et qui si Romae mansisset elegantiorem fortasse musicum numquam caput Orbis audisset.*[40]

Certainly his influence on artists was not limited to Córdoba, since, as Peramás said, even the Viceroy of Peru had requested the compositions of Zipoli from Lima, and moreover it tells us that his fame and works reached the reductions of the natives, which were the most notable musical conservatories from the beginning of the 17th century to the end of the 18th. Yapeyú was the great musical center above all, as we have shown at length elsewhere; and years after the death of Zipoli, it had copies and originals of the great master there. One sees that on the 20th of March 1728 when Father Lorenzo Rillo ordains this in his Memorial de visita para el pueblo de Itapúa:[41]

> An Indian named José applied himself to the organ, which he learned in Córdoba, in such a way that this was his daily and principal occupation; and he taught some other boy; and if he missed the papers of Brother Zipoli [i.e., if some more papers were needed], some could send to Yapeyú, from whence they were freely loaned.

On the 20th of February, Father Jerónimo Herran[42] ordered the priest of the Reduction of Santiago (one of those of the Guaranies) to "Try to improve the music for there is great wont of voices, especially sopranos, and of good instrumentalists; and make sure that they learn and practice the music of Brother Zipoli, so that they can be the best."

In 1775, half a century after the death of Zipoli, Father Jaime Oliver[43] wrote, in

musical scores that had been or are scattered throughout the region.

In 1948, two other students, Father Pedro Grenón[49] and Antonio Monzón tried to build a favorable climate for the research and understanding of the musical pieces of Zipoli, and to the latter of the two is owed the awakening of the interest about the operas of the great Italian master. After recalling that Father Antonio Sepp, who was the immediate precursor to Zipoli in Rioplatense music, says nothing of the opera or musical drama, nor did his admirers recall any of his works of this type, Monzón writes:

> Taking into account the personality of Zipoli in this art, we venture to express, despite lacking the document that would decisively prove the fact is lacking for us, that the first operas, unpublished today, composed in this part of the continent at the beginning of the 18th century, were probably due to his inspiration.

The dances and pieces of theatrical music that took place in the village of San Borja (one of the lands in the Treaty of Limitations of 1750 between Spain and Portugal) in 1760 on the occasion of the proclamation of Charles III, successor to Ferdinand VI, by the Guaranies belonging to the villages of Trinidad, Mártires and Santo Tomé[50] cause him to believe this.

Such an assumption is corroborated by the testimony of Father José Sánchez Labrador[51], who writes in his Paraguay Católico, referring to the time in which he was in the reductions (between 1750 and 1767), that

> [...] in some doctrines, they were in the custom of having an Italian opera in the evening, which was composed for this purpose by Brother Domenico Zipoli, one of the major musicians who lived in Rome and came, already a Jesuit, to the province of Paraguay.

Finally, we remember that for the Uruguayan musicologist, Lauro Ayestarán, the appearance of some writings of Zipoli might perhaps come to illuminate the problem of the creation of the Argentine folklore, since the high music of the Roman composer, heard and also played by the natives, ought to have had influence on the remote creation of their folklore repertory.

Notes:

[1] Augustin and Alois de Backer, Bibliothèque des écrivians de la Companie de Jésus, III (Lieja 1856) 1722.

[2] Sommervogel, VII, 1511.

[3] Ernest M. Rivière, ap. Sommervogel, Supplément (Toulouse 1911) 1248.

[4] Los jesuitas y la cultura rioplatense (Montevideo 1933) 80-81. "As the one who writes these lines read a year ago in the book, Los jesuitas y la cultura rioplatense, by Father Guillermo Furlong, S.J., a reference to a certain Brother Domenico Zipoli, an organist who was from the Church of the Jesuits in Córdoba (Argentina), at the dawn of the 18th century, it occurs to him to think that perhaps it might be a question of that celebrated composer of the same name ... ," wrote Lauro Ayestarán in 1941. Victor de Rubertis writes 10 years later, "Father Furlong is the author of an interesting volume, Los jesuitas y la cultura rioplatense, which is the first modern book that mentions the American Zipoli in Rome and also in Argentina."

[5] L. Ayestarán, "Domenico Zipoli, el gran compositor y organista romano del 1700, en el Río de la Plata", Revista histórica, 13 (Montevideo 1941) 49-75.

[6] V. De Rubertis, "Córdoba honra Manuel de Falla y olvida a Domenico Zipoli", in La silurante musicale (Buenos Aires, April 1951) p. 6, and in Estudios, 84 (1951) 222-224.

[7] "Dove e quando nacque e mori Domenico Zipoli", in Rivista musicale italiana, 54 (1951) 152-157.

[8] L. Torchi, "La musica instrumentale in Tialia nei secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII", in Rivista musicale italiana, 2 (1898) 488.

[9] F. Torrefranca, Le origini italiane del romanticismo musicale (Turín 1930) 30.

[10] A. Bonaventura, Storia e letteratura del pianoforte (Liotna 1934) 30.

[11] K. F. Weitzmann, Geschichte der Klaviermusik, with Appendix by M. Seiffert and O. Fleischer[3] (Leipzig 1899) 410-412. In these pages one finds a serious and objective study of the music of Zipoli. See also A.G. Ritter, Zur Geschicte des Orgelspiels, I (ib. 1884) p. 42, number 28. More extensive than the histories of music usually dedicate to him are the musical dictionaries; the following still preserve part of their significance: E.L. Gerber, Neues historisch-bibliographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler, I (ib. 1812) 790; F.-J. Fétis, Biographie unierselle des musiciens[2], VII (Paris 1878) 522; above all, R. Eitner, Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten, X (Leipzig 1904) 357-358; H. Riemann - A. Einstein, Musik-Lexikon[2], II (Berlin 1929) 2083; Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians[3], (New York 1949) 787. They collected the final results of the research in H. J. Moser, Musik Lexikon[3], (Hamburg 1951) 1343; and J. Pena - H. Anglès, Diccionario de la música Labor, II (Barcelona 1954) 2313.

[12] See note 3 and compare Los jesuitas y la cultura rioplatense[2] (Buenos Aires 1945) 161-162.

[13] "Dove e quando ..." (compare note 7), p. 3.

[14] Guido Pannain, Le origine e lo sviluppo dell'arte pianistica in Italia dal 1500 al 1740 circa (Naples 1919) 162.

[15] "Pannain, in his edition of the Toccate per cembalo by Durante (Edition Ricordi, Milan 1915) has inserted a piece by Zipoli: it is the number 5 in D minor, which in Zipoli's volume bore the title of Canzona." (Note by De Rubertis.)

[16] Pannain, 162.

[17] Litterae Annuae Provincae Paraquariensis 1720-1730, in the Staatsarchiv of Munich in Bavaria, Jesuits 267 (photocopy in the province of Argentina of the Society of Jesus) pamphlet 6. Since this biographic note is fundamental to explain the biography of Zipoli, we are going to transcribe all of his text here, in spite of having been published in Ayestarán, 70: "Among the scholastics, the oldest paid the debt of nature in 1726: Domenico Zipoli, born in Prato of Tuscany, after he finished four years of theology, not yet ordained because there was no Bishop available. Most skilled in music, a clear example of which has been printed, he worked at our Confessional House in Rome. Although he showed the highest hope and promise, he preferred to work for the Society in the missions of Paraguay. He prepared the feast days with music that was the delight of the Spaniards and Indians, all of this without interrupting his studies. He made excellent progress in the humanities, both philosophical and theological. He was most gentle and beloved of God and man; he was always most modest and careful of all modesty of the eyes. He was acknowledged to pray for the angelic purity to his guardian angel and other angels. He balanced all actions by the norm of obedience, not departing anyway from the ideals of his elders, and would ask pardon at the

slightest infraction. Very devoted to prayer, he would spend his free time in prayer. His brother Jesuits would take seriously all words he spoke on spiritual matters; in fact, he would speak of nothing else. Exhausted by a deadly disease from which he rendered his soul to God most peacefully as he lived, he died on the second day of January, 1726." [Translation from the Latin by Alfred E. Lemmon.]

[18] Op. cit. (note 3), column 1248: "Zipoli, Domenico, native of Italy, born in Rieti ..." Such an inexact assertion is certainly surprising, as had that of Sommervogel had been also, for whom Zipoli was "born in Prado (New Castille)."

[19] Archivo Cumunale de Prato, Vacchetta dei battezzati nel duomo di Prato, f. 36v. In the volume Indice dei battenzzati nel duomo Prato, f. 35v number 8, one reads "Domenico by Sabatino Zipoli of Sobborghi, on the 17th of October." Notes by De Rubertis.

[20] Ayestarán, 53-55, points out that the 60th School of Florence, represented by Giacomo Peri (1561-1633) and Francesco M. Veracini (?-1570) was more strict than the one of Naples, where at the time of Zipoli, Francesco Provenzale (1650-1725) and the most famous G. B. Pergolesi (1710-1736) flourished. Jules Combarieu, Histoire de la musique, II (Paris 1935) 152, also believed that Zipoli was a native of Nola, that he wasn't attached to the Neapolitan school, but placed him among the disciples of Frescobaldi.

[21] Ayestarán, 35 - Compare S. Di Giacomo, I quattro antichi Conservatori musicali di Napoli, MDXLIII-MDCCC, 2 vols., no date.

[22] See my study, "José Manuel Peramás y su Diario del destierro", en Viajeros coloniales rioplatenses (Buenos Aires 1952) 113.

[23] J. M. Peramás, De vita et moribus XIII virorum paraguayorum (Faenza 1793) 294.

[24] See note 17.

[25] J. Cardiel, Carta-relación al Padre Pedro de Calatayud, 1747, in the Archive of the Province of Toledo of the Society of Jesus. The assertion seems very doubtful, since no documentation was found for it.

[26] Professor F. Curt Lange of the University of Cuyo (Mendoza, Argentina) and P. M. Batllori, S. J., are working on a musical bibliography of Zipoli. The former has just dedicated important pages to said musician in his study: "La música eclesiástica argentina en el periodo de la dominación hispánica. (Una investigación)", in Revista de estudios musicales, year III, number 7 (Mendoza 1954) 15-171 (see pages 29-33).

[27] Ayestarán, 58-60.

[28] See note 17.

[29] Op. cit., 61.

[30] P. Pastells and F. Mateos, Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la provincia del Paraguay, VI (Madrid 1946) 123-126.

[31] Ibid., 125. Due without doubt to a copyist or printer's error, one reads Tipoli instead of Zipoli.

[32] Vida y virtudes del venerable mártir Padre Julián de Lizardi (Madrid 1862) 123.

[33] ARSI, Paraq. 6, 80v, number 52; 111r, number 31.

[34] Short catalog of 1717 en the Biblioteca nacional de Rio de Janeiro; photocopy in ARSI Paraq. 7.

[35] Peramás, Diario, 113; Cardiel, op. cit.

[36] Lozano, Lizardi, 123-124.

[37] See note 17.

[38] Annus patiens seu ephemerides quibus continetur iter annum iesuitarum paraguariorum Corduba Tucumaniae profectorum. ARSI, Paraq. 21, folio 65. There is a photocopy in the Archive of the Society of Jesus of the province of Argentina, Buenos Aires.

[39] Ibid., 294. In our volume about the Músicos argentinos durante la dominación hispánica (Buenos Aires 1945), we have possibly fully confirmed the assertion of Peramás, that in the Río de la Plata, before 1767, there was not any other music except that of the Jesuits. In that work, we dedicate pages 114-122 to Zipoli.

[40] Loc. cit., above, number 38.

[41] Buenos Aires, General Archive of the Nation: Compañia de Jesús, 1728. Published in P. Grenón, Nuestra primera música instrumental (Buenos Aires 1929) and in Ayestarán, 71. - The studie cited in P. Grenón, has been republished in Revista de estudios musicales, year II, number 5-6 (Mendoza 1950-51) 11-96; III, number 7 (1954) 173-220; see pages 48-53, 77

[42] Archive of Buenos Aires: Compañia de Jesús, 1727.

[43] Breve noticia de la numerosa y florida christiandad guaraní, folio 16. (Archive of Loyola-Oña).

[44] See note 17.

[45] Archive of Loyola-Oña.

[46] Archive of Buenos Aires: Compañía de Jesús, 1726.

[47] See note 17.

[48] Ayestarán, 67-68.

[49] P. Grenón, S. J., Noticia de Domingo Zipoli, músico y jesuita, 1688-1725. (Córdoba 1948).

[50] A. Monzón, "Introducción de la ópera en la Argentina", en Boletin de estudios de teatro, number 20-21 (Buenos Aires 1948) 35-39. These operas were El rey Orontes de Egipto, Los pastores del nacimiento del Niño Dios, and Felipe V, about his abdication; the date of this historical fact (1724) allows us to believe that the opera was by Zipoli.

[51] Paraguay cathólico. Harmonioso entable de las misiones de los indios guaranies, page 360. Original manuscript and autograph, in the hands of Mr. Alberto Dodero.

[52] Ayestarán, 68.

García Morillo, Roberto. Estudios sobre Música Argentina. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Culturales Argentinas, 1984. p. 18-19.

We can say very little of interest - strictly in the sense of musical creation - regarding the first period which has been the object of an almost exhaustive study on the part of Father Guillermo Furlong. Already in the 16th century we have indications of the musical movement in these regions primarily due to the grace and work of the priests who used the art of music as a means to attract the natives and to facilitate and secure their conversion to Christianity. We know of various religious figures, not only Spaniards, but also Italians, French, Swiss, Germans, and Austrians whose names are not of major interest in the subject which we now consider. Among them, nonetheless, San Francisco Solano shows up; who, armed with his violin, gave religious instruction to the Indians, alternating the explanation of the Christian doctrines with musical interludes. The (musical) centers were the Jesuit missions of San Ignacio and Yapeyú in the Guarany reductions, (and) Asuncíon, Tucumán, Córdoba, and Buenos Aires vacillating between the sacred and profane arts. Still, one could not call them creators in the proper sense, save one brilliant and singular exception. Not too long ago, the Uruguayan musicologist, Lauro Ayestarán, discovered the presence in Córdoba from 1717 until his death, of the famous Neapolitan organist and composer Domenico Zipoli (who was a Jesuit); it is the highlight of the period and his Mass in F major and various chamber music creations are the outstanding contributions of the long (colonial) epoch to the aural arts.

Gesualdo, Vicente. Historia de la Música en la Argentina. Buenos Aires: Editorial Beta S.R.I., 1961. vol. 1, 48-58, 153.

In the year 1717, the most important of the musicians active in the missions arrived in Buenos Aires: Domenico Zipoli (Prato, Tuscany, 1688 - Santa Catalina, Córdoba, 1726), one of the greatest organists of all time. Lauro Ayestarán says of this musician:

> Heir to the formidable organ technique of Frescobaldi, his writing lies at the precise point of transition between the contrapuntal formula and simple dialogue. Unlike the ornamental excesses that were typical of the Neapolitan school, his writing was free, his melody was quite articulate, and all of his works devoid of a great contrapuntal fantasy.

The basis of studies recently completed in Italy have brought to light many interesting aspects of Zipoli's life which had been unknown until now.[13]

He started his musical studies with the organist of the Cathedral at Florence, probably Giovanni María Casini. An unpublished manuscript of father Giovanni Battista Martini relates the detail of the early years of Zipoli, but no specific name of his first teacher; it must have been Casini, although Piero Sammartini and Giovanni Maria Pagliardi also performed as musicians at the Cathedral of Florence during the years 1680-1700.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany [Cosimo III], admired the skill of the youth, sheltered him, and stimulated his musical career, sent him to Naples to perfect his (musical) skill with Alessandro Scarlatti; however, the encounter with the great composer was not cordial and father Martini writes: "Zipoli fled because of sharp differences." He then went to Bologna where his teacher was father Lavinio Vannucci. Later, the Grand Duke made him move to Rome to further his studies with the famous master, Bernardo Pasquini (1637-1710), considered the most notable Italian organist and clavier player of the time. In the Eternal City, Zipoli debuted his first work of importance, the oratorio Sant' Antonio in 1712; two years later he brought out another oratorio, Santa Caterina vergine e martire, first performed in the church of San Girolamo with a libretto by the "Arcadian" Grapelli. The manuscript of this oratorio is preserved in the Victor Emmanuele II Library in Rome. During this time, he performed as organist in the Jesuit Church in Rome; also, he was a musician in the basilica of San Juan de Letrán, according to what father José Cardiel expressed in his writings. In 1716, he published his Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo and also a treatise entitled Principi o Nozioni per suonare con destrezza l'organo e il clavicembalo, which appeared at the beginning of the aforementioned year.

The Sonate d'intavolatura included tocattas, canons, preludes, allemands, sarabands, gigues, gavottes, etc. Many of these compositions were reprinted years after the death of Zipoli: the publisher Michel Corrette published several works in Paris in 1739; Handel's editor, Walsh, published a collection of 6 suites (in London without date) entitled: Six Suits of Italian Lessons [. . .] composed by Signor Domenico Zipoli Eminent Organist and Composer of Rome.

With the publication of the Sonate in 1716, the figure of Zipoli disappeared from the European scene; through much of two centuries it was an enigma among the historians of musical arts where and when the great composer ended his days. Studies

undertaken by father Carlos Leonhardt S. J. (1924), Guillermo Furlong S. J. (1933), the musicologist Lauro Ayestarán (1941), and professor Víctor de Rubertis (1946) have revealed the existence and death of Zipoli in our fatherland (Argentina). In Rome, Zipoli heard the call of the priestly vocation; from that city he moved to Seville where he joined the Society of Jesus. Determined to go to the Paraguayan missions, he embarked from Cadiz in April of 1717; other distinguished Jesuits traveled on the same vessel, among them fathers Lozano, Bianchi, and Primoli. In June of that same year, he arrived in Buenos Aires; Zipoli then continued on to Córdoba to finish his studies there. In the seminary of that city, he pursued his ecclesiastical studies at the same time as he held the position of organist in the church of the Jesuits. Of the life and activity of Zipoli in Córdoba we know the details through various documents of the time. Father P. Peramás who settled in Faenza (Italy) after the expulsion of the Jesuits, published the work De Vita et Moribus in 1793. He made mention of his companions in the missions, saying:

> Some priests had gone to the province who had come from Europe who were excellent in that art (music), they had taught the Indians of the villages to sing and the blacks of the college to play sonorous instruments. But none of them was more illustrious nor more accomplished than Domenico Zipoli, formerly a Roman musician, in whose perfect harmony nothing sweeter and artistically crafted could be imagined. The vespers services lasted all evening and were quite pleasant. He composed different compositions for the church (which were requested by mail from the city of Lima), and in truth, if you had ever heard any of the music of Zipoli, nothing else would have been as pleasant.

Father Lozano who came to the Río de la Plata in the same boat and dealt with him personally, said of Zipoli:

> He was skilled at music, as a small book which he published shows. He was the maestro of the church of the Confessional House in Rome and precisely when he could have expected better things, he sacrificed everything for the salvation of the Indians and set out for Paraguay. It gave great ceremony to the religious festivals, through music, with no small pleasure to the Spaniards as well as the natives ... Great were the numbers of the people who came to our church with the desire to hear him play so beautifully ... The vespers services lasted all evening and were quite pleasing to all the religious orders who were present primarily because of the composer called Zipoli (when he was alive), a teacher from the Roman College, from whence he came to our province.

When more was expected of his genius, and "acclaim was naturally being paid," as father Lozano expressed, Zipoli died in the estate that the Jesuits had at Santa Catalina, 12 leagues [about 36 miles] north of Córdoba, on the 2nd of January, 1726. This is the extent of the information that we know about this great organist and Jesuit musician, whom professor de Rubertis considers one of the glorious "rivals" of Johann Sebastian Bach.

Even up until now, there is a certain unknown factor about the works which were written during his stay in Córdoba. We do know that even a half a century after he died, Father Jaime Oliver, the great historian, alludes to his [Zipoli's] compositions and Father Lozano said that the works of Zipoli became so popular that they were sought for in Peru for the musicians of Lima. Father Jerónimo Herrán, who visited the Guarany village of Santiago in 1732 wrote that "the Indians learn and practice the music of brother Domenico Zipoli to become better (at music)."

We have references in the catalog of the reduction of San Ignacio, which exists in the Nation's General Archive (Archivo General de la Nación), mentioning "30 motets of brother Zipoli." Father José Sánchez Labrador, in his work El Paraguay Católico, refers to the period when he visited the missions (1750-67), saying that "some Indian churches performed an Italian opera in the evening which had been composed for them (by) brother Zipoli, one of the major musicians who lived in Rome and transferred (now a Jesuit) to the Paraguay province."

Professor Robert Stevenson of the University of California [at Los Angeles] has uncovered a sensational discovery in a village of the old missions: a Misa para cuatro voces y bajo continuo and is preparing a work about that composition.

Probably the "opera with quite good rhythmic structure" whose recitatives, allegros, adagios, fugues, and "the rest of the musical compositions contained therein" that were sung by the Indians of the missions in Buenos Aires in 1747 during the festivities accompanying the swearing in of Fernando VI, had been composed by Zipoli; these aforementioned operas were the ones that had been performed by the Indians before Ceballos in San Borja, on the occasion of the swearing in of Carlos III in 1760.

In the convent of reclusive nuns at Santa Catalina in Córdoba, according to information from the Mother Superior, they still sing a Credo by Zipoli even today - in accordance with an old oral tradition.

The place of his internment constitutes a mystery to us to this day; the estate of Santa Catalina (where he died) is today private property. One supposes that his remains had been buried in a place near the church which has the appearance of being a cemetery in earlier times; it is also possible that he might have been buried under the floor stones of the church.[14]

The name of Zipoli appeared for the first time [since the colonial period] in the musical programs presented in Buenos Aires in May of 1911 when they were used for the inauguration of the organ in the church of San Carlos. This sacred concert was directed by maestro Pietro Mascagni with the collaboration of maestros Juan M. Pelazza and Carmen Calvo, who performed a prelude, corrente, sarabande, and gigue by Zipoli.

In chronological order, here are the important points of Domenico Zipoli's life:

1688 - October 16. Born in Prato, Tuscany.

1698 to 1711 - Began his musical studies with the kapellmeister at the Florence Cathedral, probably Giovanni Maria Casini. Protege of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he was sent to Naples to study with Alessandro Scarlatti, but the relationship wasn't cordial and, as father Martini writes, "Zipoli fled due to sharp differences with that master." Afterward, he went to Bologna where he was the student of father Lavinio Vannucci. His benefactor [the Grand Duke] had him move to Rome in the early years of the 18th century where he received instruction from Bernardo Pasquini, considered the greatest organist and clavier player of that time.

1712 - Composes one of his first works, the oratorio Sant'Antonio, in Rome.

1714 - Composes the oratorio Santa Caterina, vergine e martire, in Rome; debuted that year in the church of San Girolamo.

1716 - Figures as the premier organist in the Jesuit church in Rome. In January of that year he published (in Rome) a treatise entitled Principi o Nozioni per suonare con destrezza l'organo e il clavicembalo. Father Lozano says in reference to this work: "He was most skilled in music as shown by a small book that he published." Also in 1716, he published (in Rome) a collection of his works, Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cembalo; in that edition, he dedicates his work to the Princess of Forano. The triennial catalog or the Society of Jesus in the year 1720 indicates the date of Zipoli's entry into the order as 1 July 1717, he then passed on to Seville, where he remained for 9 months. He played the organ at the Cathedral [of Seville], was offered the kapellmeister position, but he didn't accept it.

1717 - Embarked from Cadíz on 5 April 1717 with 72 other Jesuits. Arrived in Buenos Aires in July of that year and after 15 days went on to Córdoba where he had to complete his studies.

1718 to 1725 - The catalog of the Company [Society of Jesus] in 1724 says that Zipoli had completed 3 years of philosophy and 3 years of theology. Father Lozano confirms in his writings that Zipoli was an excellent student in these subjects. In those years he held the office of kapellmeister in the Jesuit Church at Córdoba and composed music of all types, including "Italian operas", as indicated by father José Sánchez Labrador in his book, El Paraguay Católico.

1726 - January 2. Dies at 38 years of age in the estate of Santa Catalina, located about 50 kilometers from Córdoba, the place where the young students of the Company spent their annual vacations. He probably died as a result of an epidemic that broke out there. He had not been ordained a priest since there was no bishop to consecrate him at that time.

A citation from page 153:

[from an] Inventory of the musical production of the colonial epoch:

1717 - 30 motets by Domenico Zipoli. Cited in the inventory of the reduction of San Francisco* (the inventory which is) existing in the Nation's General Archive. Possibly composed during the great composer's stay in Córdoba.

*[Note that earlier in the text, Sr. Gesualdo indicates that the it was the inventory of the reduction of San Ignacio]

Bibliographic Notes:

[13] Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, Noticia biográfica de Zipoli, in the latest edition of the Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo; A. Della Corte an article about Zipoli published in La Scala, number 120, Milan, November 1959. I owe the knowledge of these details to the kindness of professor Victor de Rubertis.

[14] Pedro Lozano, S. J., Cartas Annuas, 1720-1730 (Archivo Nacional de Munich, Bavaria, Jesuítas, 267); J. M. Peramás; De vita et Moribus sex Sacerdotem, Faenza, 1791; Carlos Leonhardt, S. J., La Música y el Teatro en el tiempo de los antiguos jesuitas, pp. 9-14, Buenos Aires, 1924; Guillermo Furlong, S. J., Los jesuítas y la cultura rioplatense, Montevideo, 1933; Lauro Ayestarán, Doménico Zipoli el gran compositor y organista romano del 1700 en el Río de la Plata, Montevideo, 1941; Victor de Rubertis; "La patria y la fecha de nacimiento de Doménico Zipoli"; La Silurante Musicale, Buenos Aires,

May 1946; Alfredo Fiorda Kelly; "Doménico Zipoli, músico de las Missiones Guaraníticas", Buenos Aires Musical, no. 11, February 1948; Pedro Grenón, S. J., Noticia de Doménico Zipoli, músico y jesuíta, Córdoba, 1948; Guillermo Furlong, S. J., "Siete grandes maestros de la música colonial rioplatenese", Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, Buenos Aires, 1942, Vicente Gesualdo, Los Músicos de las Misiones, Buenos Aires, 1957; Guillermo Furlong, S. J., "Doménico Zipoli, Músico eximo en Europe and América (1688-1726)"; Archivium Historicum Societas Jesu, Rome, 1955.

Grenón, Pedro. "Nuestra Primera Musica Instrumental." Revista de Estudios Musicales, 1951, vol. 2, no. 5-6. pp. 48-53, 77-78.

Last year (1950), I published a summary and information about the composer Domenico Zipoli, an Italian Jesuit priest who came to America. He worked and died in Córdoba. Said publication is the material and proper topic of this book and was written and circulated after the first edition of the present work. The mention that I made in it roused the search of its information. I extract its part:

Brother Domenico Zipoli born in Italy in the town of Prato on the 16th of October of 1688. [12] He went to Rome at eight years of age, that is, about 1696. The professors with whom he perfected himself in music are unknown. He came to be the organ master of the Chiesa del Gesù, Church of the Jesuits in Rome. At this height of his life (1716), he published 2 works, Principa seu Elementa ad bene pulsandum Organum et Cimbalum and Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo in 2 volumes. [13] He [Zipoli] found out that in that year Father Bartolomé Jiménez, a Jesuit, Procurator of the Missionaries of Paraguay, who was in Seville, Spain at the time, was to depart for South America with 72 recruited missionaries. He also insisted in taking part in the undertaking of the missions of Paraguay and he resolved to enter the order. In fulfillment of this vocational determination he went from Rome to Seville. He was admitted and entered the Novitiate of the Society of Jesus on the first of June of 1716. While the expedition awaited the sailing of the ship, he was requested to play the organ in the Cathedral of Seville, enjoying notable acclaim during the nine months of his stay. The date of departure approached and he went from Seville to Cadiz. The ship departed on the 5th of April 1717, bound for Buenos Aires, arriving with good fortune in July of the same year. There figured in this expedition priests who would much later have a very distinguished role: Pedro Lozano, Julian Lizardi, Juan Batista Primoli, Segismundo Aperger, Bernardo Nusdorfer and others.

Brother Zipoli went to Córdoba, since the Order had in the same University, the home of its studies. He began the courses there and lived where the Residence of the Jesuits is presently found. At the same time he carried out the office of organist and taught music to those of the College. In the catalog of 1724 there appears the fact that he enjoyed excellent health. He was in Córdoba eight years and spent three devoted to studies of philosophy and theology. He died unexpectedly at the age of 38 in the Estate of Santa Catalina, a mountainous place, in the Department of Totoral, the summer vacation place of young Jesuits and novices. His date of death must have been around the end of December of 1725 (there are 2 authors who established it as the 2nd of January 1726). He hadn't been able to be ordained a priest due to a lack of a bishop at this time in Córdoba.

Father Lozano, who was a companion on the sea voyage and also of the Estate in Córdoba, referred to Domenico Zipoli in his Cartas Annuas:

> Among the scholars, the first who succumbed in 1726 was Domenico Zipoli of Prato in Tuscany after he had finished his theological studies, although he had not been ordained a priest for lack of a bishop. He was a great musician, as was proved by the small book that he published. He had been maestro di capilla of the Casa Profesa in Rome and precisely when he could have expected better things, he sacrificed all for the salvation of the Indians and went to Paraguay. He entered the Society in Seville. He applied himself to increasing the solemnity of the religious

festivals through his music with no small enjoyment both to the Spaniards as well as the neophytes - without postponing his studies - in which he made no insignificant progress. Great was the multitude of people attracted to our church [of Córdoba] by their desire to hear his beautiful music in the festivals (Reichsarchiv, München, Sección Jesuítas, No. 267, Annuas 1720-1730).

And Peramás writes the following death notice:

In those cities they had no other music than that of the servants ["servants of Christ" or slaves?] of the Jesuits. Some priests, formerly from Europe, excellent in that art had gone to the Province; they taught the Indians in the villages (reductions) to sing and the blacks of the College to play sonorous instruments. But none of them was more illustrious nor more polished than Domenico Zipoli, in former times a Roman musician, in whose perfect harmony nothing sweeter or more elaborate could be imagined.

And it is certain that while he composed different compositions for the church (which were requested from enormous distances by mail for the Prince [read Viceroy] of Lima, a city in South America) and while he was at the same time dedicated to the most profound studies of literature, he died to the great sorrow of all. And in truth, anyone who had one time heard something by Zipoli, scarcely would anything else have been agreeable ... He died in Córdoba of Tucumán in the year 1725 (Peramás, Joseph E. De vita et moribus tredecim virorum paraguaycorum, Favienta, 1793).

1728

Father Lorenzo Rillo wrote in Itapua, the 20th of March in chapter 5 of the memorial of the visit:

An Indian called José applied himself to the organ, which he learned in Córdoba, so that this was his daily and principal occupation; and he taught another boy; and if he missed the papers of Brother Zipoli, someone could be sent to Yapeyú from whence they were freely loaned. (General Archive of the Nation)

1767

In the account of Father Jaime Oliver one reads:

All the villages had its music completed by 30 musicians. The sopranos are very good since they select the best voices from all the villages, they work hard from a very early age at the music school, whose masters work with great persistence and care and they truly deserve the title of masters, since they know it [music] with perfection and perhaps compose very well, although it isn't necessary since they have the compositions of the best of Italy and Germany, brought by the Procurators and Missionaries who were from these parts, and the works of Brother Zipoli.

They are, then, well provided with many and very good papers for all their festivals. Which they use to perfection; which they owe to the work and

effort of the Italian and German fathers, masters of music who teach them with so much care, as if they might not have had any other thing to do. The instruments are good; there are organs, harpsichords, harps, sea trumpets and hunting horns, many and good clarinets, violins and violas, bassoons or oboes (Archive of the Society of Jesus, Buenos Aires).

Notes:

[12] In the referenced pamphlet, Father Grenón erroneously gave the date of birth as the 11th of October. The exact date, the 16th of October, has been established by Professor Victor de Rubertis, "La patria y la fecha de nacimento de Domenico Zipoli", in La Silurante Musicale, Year XIV, Number 53, Buenos Aires, May 1946, p. 6-7 (note by the editor).

In reality, the mystery continues to exist about the activities and works of Brother Zipoli, as well as the illness that caused the death and the exact date of his death. The Estate of Santa Catalina is today private property and their papers have been found dispersed in private hands. We have visited Santa Catalina it was extremely difficult to locate the tomb of Brother Zipoli, since it might have been found under the slabs of the floor of the Chapel, as could his remains have been buried in a neighboring site which had the appearance of having been designated as a cemetery in former times. A member of the family said that the floor tiles of the floor had been renovated, but that one part of the same had sunk, as if there might have been old tombs there. It will be a matter of proceeding diligently and with patience to try to publish some details. In the convent of Santa Catalina of Córdoba, of the reclusive nuns, they still sing today - according to the information from the Mother Superior, a Credo by Zipoli, following an old oral tradition.

The sole serious contribution which until now has been accomplished, owes to the initiative of Victor de Rubertis in Buenos Aires who has established a means of adequate documentation, the date of birth of Zipoli, reaffirming the same time and place. Already in 1906 in the Revista Eclesiástica del Arzobisapado de Buenos Aires the reference to Zipoli given by Peramás was published. In 1924, Father Carlos Leonhart cited the information given by Father Pedro Lozano in the Cartas Annuas of the Reichsarchiv of Munich, and that of the Catalog of the Library of the Society of Jesus, of Sommervogel. In 1929, Father Grenón published various allusions to Zipoli in his study in Córdoba and in the work which we have reedited here and in 1933 and afterward, Father Guillermo Furlong has given repeated attention throughout his voluminous works. The pamphlet published by Lauro Ayestarán does not represent the "least documentary contribution" and in any case fixed another signal on behalf of the famous European musician in the Rio de la Plata. It can be determined from the existing information that Zipoli was the most qualified of all the fathers who came to this region and was dedicated to the exercise of music. He was possibly the only serious composer with professional training - in all respects of the word. Nonetheless, we want to advise that high-sounding phrases and excessive eloquence do not come close to reality. Zipoli came to America quite young and the desertion of Rome signified for him the death of his professional career. To say "that he left the dazzling environment of Rome of the 1700s for an environment of the most promising effervescence" is to be unaware of the true state of the musical affairs of the mission and the cities like Córdoba. Zipoli must have looked at everything from a professional point of view and also must have suffered for this reason. Realizing theological studies and dedicated simultaneously to teaching and to the functions of organist, little time must have remained for this artist to cultivate creation and to arrive through this to a definitive expression of his personality. Zipoli died without having obtained it, far away from the flowing musical stimulus of Europe.

Turning the to the pamphlet of Mister Ayestarán, whose weak informative structure has been padded with the description of the cultural environment and the explanation of the significance and the evolution of some forms, shows that the citations - without the previous discrimination to establish it through an enormous bibliography - have been filled with the same errors and with the addition of others, some of which are inadmissible from a professional point of view as is shown in a single aspect of our note 7. The author would have at least gone to the trouble of gathering a complete accounting of the works of Zipoli published in repeated editions to date, pointing out those whose authenticity is doubtful (Ayestarán, Lauro. "Dom nico Zipoli, EL gran compositor y organista romano del 1700 en el Río de la Plata", Seperata de la Revista Histórica, Museo Histórico Nacional, Number 37, Tomo XIII, Year XXXV (2nd Epoch), Montevideo, August 1941). (Note by the editor).

[13] A third series, composed of 6 Suites, was included by the publisher Walsh of London, without a

date, in a notebook entitled A Third Collection of Toccatas, Voluntaries and Fugues for the Organ and Harpsichord. These 6 Suites preceded a publication of the works of Zipoli, realized in 1739 by the organist and publisher Michel Corrette in Paris. The suspicion that Corrette used the name of Zipoli in some of the pieces so that they would be accepted more readily by the public ought to be rejected. Already in 1727, Mr. Corrette, *Maître de Music*, would have had already obtained the copyright to publish the sonatas. Moreover, he was the organist in the Jesuit College in Paris (about 1738) so it would be improbable that he would have committed an abuse of this nature against a Bother in the Order that he served. Thirteen pieces for organ were included in the L'Arte Musicale in Italia, volume III of Torchi (Ricordi, editor), others in the Tresor du pianiste, vol. XI by Farrenc, in the Alte Meister of Pauer, and in more recent editions, like the Raccolta Nazionale delle Musiche Italiane directed by Gabriele D'Annunzio, books 145 to 150 entitled "Domenico Zipoli, Composizioni per Organo e Cembalo, transcitte e rivedute a cura di Alcea Toni". A protracted enumeration of the works of Zipoli and the respective editions is not possible in this note. For those interested in these topics, we recommend: Pannain, G. Le origine e lo sviluppo dell'arte pianistica in Italia, Naples, 1919. (Note by the editor).

Lange, Francisco Curt. "Consideraciones en torno a Domenico Zipoli", in La música eclesiástica en Córdoba durante la dominación hispánica. Mendoza, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 1955. 43-46, 75-83.

This third chapter of the History of Ecclesiastic Music in Colonial Córdoba cannot, nor claims to be complete in the same way as the previous works about the Cathedral and San Francisco. We would need years to clarify the musical activity in that city and particularly that of the Jesuits, whose supporting documents have almost completely disappeared, leaving information so scarce, short, and difficult to find as that even as that still remains in the other orders and the secular clergy.

The documentation that we comment upon and explain here has been extracted from two books of credits and debits, one corresponding to the Colegio Maximo (1711-1762) the other to the Office of the Attorney Father of the Province (1711-1754) of the same College, besides some separate information that Father Grenón offers in his work De nuestra primera musica instrumental the second edition[1]. As in earlier chapters published in this review, I have tried to avoid bibliographic references wherever possible, reducing myself to the results of our own investigations.

In light of the fact that not a suitable piece of music of the Jesuit era that deserves to be considered of value has been saved, the owner of the data must accept what he finds and undertake the patient reading of the few books of accounts, inventories, annuals and memorials of life that have been saved until our day.[2]

Owing to the establishment of a middle-class economy on a large scale for the first time in America, carried out by the Society of Jesus with meticulous and notable foresight (I wouldn't dare call it a feudal organization), the plentiful goods acquired progressively demanded a complex administration - with notebooks of daily expenditures, books with credits and debits, inventories, and other documents corresponding to each house or establishment, in individual format and to the Colegio Maximo [those] of general or centralized manner. As is known, the extraordinary movement of persons made necessary the need to successively secure estates, according to the judgment of the fathers, for spiritual and material sustenance.

Although the principal theme of this work is not concerned with an introduction to the curious economy of the Society of Jesus, I have considered it convenient to cite some of their outstanding aspects by believing that in general, the economy in colonial times has not been studied sufficiently through the conventional account books and in particular, those of the Jesuits. All that precedes in this study the information about the musical activity proper, is meant to be a kind of suggestion for the study of the social and economic aspects of the time.

Aside from the need to investigate the musical activities in the College of Córdoba - which had been the object of great praise by commentaries of the time, repeated by historians of our time - [there] exists the interest to stir up excitement regarding Domenico Zipoli, of whose religious life in the novitiate and function as organist and composer of the church so little has been known that his mysterious existence in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, has given rise to various kinds of invention, all of them lacking veracity. The patient search in documents in Córdoba and in the surrounding regions - not yet finished - and those that I have been able to get from Europe, has permitted me to place many points in perspective. It is not possible for me to

move forward in inquiries, that are still in progress, but I can support [the premise] that a feverish haste, a total disregard for the true musical activity in Córdoba - since it is not possible to speak of musical organization - and exaggerated ascription to the duties of Zipoli, have created an aura surrounding his person and also [around] the musical activities of the Order, that don't correspond in any way to reality. Little by little I have been able to show, although with insufficient documentation, that Córdoba was never a musical center and that Domenico Zipoli, born in Prato, Tuscany, in 1688 and died in Córdoba at the beginning of 1726, could not have held, for various reasons which will be explained in time, a position of organist and teacher, and even less of creator, as some apologists have supposed.

For this work, which is just the beginning of others of major substance, I have received generous assistance from Reverend Father Guillermo Cardiff - whom I wish to profoundly thank in these lines. The investigation resulted in only 2 account books made accessible by him [Furlong] for a detailed reading and [also] some information released by Reverend Father Pedro Grenón. The discovery of some facts which other historians in the past overlooked, have given rise to deductions on which I will properly focus in the chapters on the musical activity and Domenico Zipoli.

I am going to quote, from the following item, the characteristics of the books. The first corresponds to the economic business of the Colegio Maximo and is a specimen from the ledger:

> Account book of this/ College of Córdoba of the Society of /Jesus Paraguay Province/ from the first of May 1711/ First part of the Receipts/ Second part of the expenditures With 503 records/ including 73/ blank pages

This volume, of extraordinary general interest, has the following characteristics: first part of this book of the deputy of the receipts since the first of March 1711, beginning on page 2 (title page, text on page 3) and ending on page 123, with a date of December 1762.

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If the reader has accompanied me to this point without suffering major signs of weariness, he will be able to appreciate that the complex administration of the numerous Jesuit goods, in constant expansion and increase, required an accounting mechanism to which the respective accountants did not always respond with the necessary detail, be it by excess of jobs, be it by lack of competence. If we add to this indisputable fact the lack of numerous books, particularly those of construction, the inventories, the books that kept the accounts of the Novitiate and Santa Catalina and in our case, including those of the Masses, deaths, etc., the information about the musical activity cannot be complete, as neither can that which might have eventually existed in other books or separate documents about Domenico Zipoli. In spite of these obstacles, arise uselessly evident, a series of facts that I have already insisted upon in other publications about the ecclesiastical music of the colonial times. The first fact is based upon the use of blacks and mulattos in the musical service, and at the same time, the lack of professional vocal and instrumental instruction. They sang and played by ear, as Father Paucke categorically demonstrated to us in the time when the musical service must have reached a consolidation, in comparison to the preceding periods, identical, let us say, to the

material evolution and to the spiritual expansion of the Order. I also believe that the quality of the interpreters of the music in the Jesuit churches has been given an exaggerated appraisal by many fathers, including the historians who did not possess the necessary musical cultivation for a fair appreciation and they mentioned such activities apologetically. We don't know if the musical background of Bougainville was better than that of the many Jesuits of the period, but his assessment of the music under the charge of the Guarany Indians, heard during his stay in Buenos Aires, is unfavorable enough and without a doubt more truthful.

Finally, there are the many indications that the participation of Domenico Zipoli in the ceremonies of great pomp had not been very frequent and gradually diminished as his fragile existence was extinguished. It also remains proven that he had not been an active student, let us say, well-known, but he lived submitted totally to God, with a total renunciation of worldly ties. I already asserted in earlier publications that if the Domenico Zipoli, famous organist and composer - not of universal renown as would support their blind panegyrics when the refer to his fame in life - is the same man who came to Córdoba (and for the moment we don't have documentation to prove to the contrary) there must have entered in him in open conflict two tendencies or temperaments, assuming that this conflict had not been definite before, at the moment of deciding to enroll in the ranks of the Jesuit missionaries on American soil. If the sudden vocation completely overcame the necessity to compose music in this famous musician, it would have been much easier to devote himself completely to studies, observances, and meditations, but if that innate force of creation and execution were dominated by a priestly vocation, surging anew uncontrollably, in Córdoba he would have suffered the greatest agonies due to the musical poverty of the environment, which was substantial in the incapability of the singers and instrumentalists and the inefficiency of the organs at his disposal. We can add that this primary state of things would have weakened him well if he had not possessed the force and necessary faith to overcome similar adversity. The trip from Rome to Córdoba was not the transfer from a musical center full of the oldest musical tradition to another promising one; it was the transplantation from an enviable position in the Chiesa del Gesù to a wilderness, from an atmosphere of understanding and stimulation to one of musical ignorance. What else can be said about the "musical life" in Córdoba in the first quarter of the 18th century, if we want to be fair, after having examined hundreds of yellowed pages of the time? I must also support, now that Zipoli was devoting himself to the completion of theological studies and to an exceptionally exemplary life, that he already lacked the interest among the blacks of the College, of which there certainly were many, to realize a pedagogical work that would have represented a permanent benefit for the church's musical service. Finally, I must add that because of that same idiosyncrasy of his, if a man who had already reached in life - by the documentation that has come down to me and been commented on at another occasion - the inward and outward appearances of a saint, he could not have been duly appreciated by the Brethren and the Fathers of the College, who probably lacked, not having cultivated music, an appreciation of the exact measure of his talent. Otherwise, he would have to have been cited again and again by first and surname, such as would be fitting with many fathers and brothers of his time of less intellectual and artistic ability than his.

To prove some of the preceding assertions, I want to briefly demonstrate, by means of the extracted entries from the books that I have cited here, the life of total seclusion that Brother Zipoli observed during the years that he lived in Córdoba.

His stay in this city was total. To maintain that he went to the villages of the missions is a gross error, first because he was a student and his departure could not have been justified and secondly, because each person who was bound to the College in Córdoba received, in case of travel, his provision, and of this he would have left a

permanent record in the books of expenditures that I have examined. His only absence from Córdoba must have been the vacations that he spent with his student companions at the estate of Santa Catalina. In this establishment he would have been present at the festivals that were celebrated every year at that time of the year, although it should be emphasized that there could not have been an organ [there] - at least at this time - because construction of the church was actually completed in 1760. Nor figured are his vows, since to the register the expense, they included first and surname, except in a few cases in which a great number of brothers tool vows, like in the present, that could have included Zipoli:

Verso of page 172 (November 1717)

> Expenses for a reception on the behalf of the congregation on the day of the elections of the procurators in Rome and on the one of B. Stanislao ...

The references to the vows (of the two year period) were the following, to cite an example:

> In the vows of Brother Antonio Planes U022 ps
> In the vows of Brother Pedro Martinez we spent U025 ps 6 rs.
> In the vows of Brother Damian Gonzalez I spent U039p 1

If Domenico Zipoli continued composing music and if he himself had to apply himself, like all the creators of his time, to write the respective parts - particularly in Córdoba of the illiterate musicians - he would have had to have consumed a lot of paper. This didn't differ a lot from the paper used in the Novitiate or was identical to the same, that is, to that which was necessary for the students or which was used for the expense books and construction. For the present, I have not encountered, with a single exception, mention of music paper or ruled paper. The ruling was applied with an iron *rayador* with five lines, which had shown up in the Córdoban inventories cited by Father Pedro Grenón. I have attentively examined the expenditures for paper by the Novitiate[6] between 1717 and 1725 and I have verified that it had no increase in consumption, in comparison with years before and after the indicated period. I must add that to make delivery of a quire or a ream of paper - whatever the quantity might be - there was always or almost always a record left of the use to which it was destined and of the person to whom it was delivered:

April 1733

> To the father secretary 8 quires of paper to make a book [200 sheets]

November 1717

> For a ream of paper that is used to write the papers for the elections of the congress.

Finally, fully known, of the paper delivered to Father Lozano is explained in a letter of expenses corresponding to July 1735. I have put in bold print the section of interest to the reader:

> Ytt. of Father Lozano 1. overcoat with 4 kinds of cloth from Quito for 4 pesos.
> Ytt. to the same 1. pound of powder, 2 pesos. **1. Ream of paper to transcribe history**. 4 pesos. 1. waistcoat 6 pesos: on half with the cut and

thread of the overcoat U029 p 3 and on half.

Only one time did the delivery of music paper figure into the Book of the College:

265 Sheets (September 1722)

> Itt. For a ream of paper for the bookstore and ordered for Corero U012 pesos

Here is the have the only possibility of believing that Zipoli performed for a short time in the choir, between June 1719 and September 1722, the interval which mentions Corero for the only time and to whom are delivered, with a six month or longer supply, strings for music:

Page 229 (June 1719)

> For a bunch of strings for Brother Corero U004 pesos

It wouldn't be odd that Zipoli performed in the choir from 1719 to 1722, or perhaps before, when the entries for the strings in the account books - from 1717 to 1719 - do not specify the destination. Nevertheless, it is rather odd that he is never indicated by first or surname nor specified in a manner closer to his functions or position of organist and composer. In the Order of the Society of Jesus, the choir did not have the sense and the double function - that of the praying and singing - that it has been given in the Order of St. Francis. Therefore, I must refer to the name Corero as that of *Musician*, perhaps *Director of the Choir*, but not as that of Organist or *Kapellmeister* [...] The Corero would always be subordinate, especially in the great festivals, to the organist and thus it was deduced from the deliberations of Father Paucke: the organist was the central person, the director of the joined vocal and instrumental [forces]. The regular organist was in those years, Ignacio and the organist of occasional functions, perhaps only for the great festivals [was] Domenico Zipoli. Since I haven't been successful in obtaining documentation, his performance in the convent of Santa Catalina would also be doubtful.

If we dismiss this single piece of paper with the plausible purpose of serving in the choir to the choristers, how is it possible that a piece of music never figured then, nor in the entries of the warehouse, nor in the deliveries to the individuals involved? And still not even manuscripts or musical publications? The warehouse minutely registered the articles and these, in turn, were submitted for balance when a Father would resign the office and handed over to his successor. It is clear that the music requested from Europe could have come through personal channels, and even subscribed in a different way than the contribution which would correspond, by the same vow of poverty, to the College and not to the interested party, but I am always inclined to believe that such assignments, in case of having been indicated by Zipoli, have to have passed through some sector of the administrative mechanism of the Colegio Maximo.

How meticulous the expenditures were with the students - read indistinctly between the Novitiates or students of the University - 2 citations from that time show, extracted from the books that have been mentioned here. In 1714, Father Superior Matheo Sánchez wrote in the reference book with an almost illegible handwriting, but with many minute details:

> [...] next I record the student Bordon 8 pesos in a yard of goods on account for tobacco and *yerba maté* that he had given U008 pesos

And in December of 1718 one reads:

Itt. For a pair of stockings for the novice Molina to 20 rs U002 -- 4

In this portion, the names and surnames of novices and students with great frequency, but never that of Domenico Zipoli.

The books would also figure in the warehouse of the Office. Its outlay was constantly annotated, with indication of the destination. It is possible that its movement had not been centralized in complete form, but at any rate, since it was a question of a close contact between the supply of articles and objects to the Novitiate and Santa Catalina, should have been some deliveries to Zipoli. Of the deliveries of Breviaries, Missals, and Diurnals, there is left sufficient "specimen" in the account of the 2 books, particularly toward the last years. But even as a whole, the register did not fail to record:

September 1729

Itt. 19 volumes of books at different prices U030 pesos 2 reales

Santa Catalina constitutes a final chapter. It seems - although there is no precise documentation - that it was there that Brother Domenico Zipoli closed his eyes forever on 2 January 1726. As I have said before, the estate was acquired in 1622 and assigned to the Novitiate. Therefore, the account book of the Office (warehouse) has many references about both dependencies that we would not find in other books if they were in our reach, with the exception of the books corresponding to the Novitiate and the estate, whose whereabouts are unknown. In 1717, the year of Zipoli's arrival, the curate of the country estate was Father Bartolomé de Villagrán, who was succeeded, apparently in 1733, by Father Baltasar Villafañe. It is truly painful to confirm the lack of the books of Santa Catalina that (would) give us the knowledge of its structure, entries and accounts, inventories, etc., because they would have contained more detail than the ones from Córdoba, by referring only to the establishment and to its condition of residence of the students on vacation time. Its fiesta at the end of the year ought to have always been very well attended, judging from the accounts. I must add that in 1722 the festival of the coronation of the Saint was celebrated, doubtless with much pomp. In the Book of Masses there would have figured the expenses for the ones that were sung for the spirit of Brother Domenico Zipoli and in the Book of Accounts the cost of his shroud. The belief that he could have been buried in the church, a true jewel of architectural and ornamental Jesuit art, has no basis because it was completed in 1760. The remains of Zipoli ought to be resting in the Holy Ground contiguous to the church or in its vicinity.

Still lacking is an element of judgment that ought to have appeared in the Book of Accounts. I refer to the disposal of his goods. No matter how few they might have been, the protracted administration of the Jesuits would not have been able to overlook his. In January of 1753, to cite an example, there appears the first and unadorned mention of the death of the historian of the Society, Father Pedro Lozano. Regarding his library, which must have been large, that year they sent to the missions books worth 330 pesos and others valued at 700 pesos they apply to the College without charge. The disposal of goods, executed in 1754, gave the sum of 1500 pesos in books and separately in a second entry, that of 426 pesos in books and jewels.

In spite of the existence of a central library (Librería), the Historian had his own small library and theologians in the same manner. With better reason, a musical performer and a composer had to possess his own repertoire and another's, that is, of his creations and of other composers. If Domenico Zipoli brought music with him and

continued adding to it, his library would have had to increase in publications and manuscripts of several authors and his own work over the course of the eight and a half years that he lived in Córdoba, giving occasion for the disposal and the subsequent distribution of his goods. I have not been able to encounter any of this legacy in any of the examined books that extended from 1711 to 1762 (of the Colegio Maximo) and from 1711 to 1754 (of the Office).

The reader has been able to verify with me, through a systematic elimination of possibilities, that the examined papers are stubbornly silent about the activities of Brother Domenico Zipoli, who was praised so highly by the chronicles of his Order. That which precedes, as documentation or incontrovertible facts, at the same time gives occasion for suspicions. The possibility that Zipoli continued cultivating relationships with colleagues and European publishers from America and that he sustained his interest in the musical movement of his time, retreats more and more in the presence of the near conviction that he renounced the musical art as his theological studies advanced and his religious vocations became been more and more fervent in him. This also explains - it is not the moment to mention the 2 manuscripts of Zipoli that I have discovered in Germany - the cessation of the publication and diffusion of his work equivalent to that of his opus 1, the Intavolatura. But upon arriving at this stage of commentaries, I consider it preferable to consider the preceding exposition concluded and to leave for a better opportunity, as the investigations advance, a more conclusive commentary of such a suggestive theme.

Universidad Nacional de Cuyo,
Mendoza (Argentina) and Montevideo (Uruguay),
12/26 December 1955.

Notes

[1] Grenón, Pedro J., S.J., Our first instrumental music : historical facts. 2nd edition with a prolog by Francisco Curt Lange. Journal of Musical Studies, numbers 5-6, and 7, Department of Musicology, National University of Cuyo, Mendoza, December 1950 - April 1951 and December 1954, pages 11-96 and 173-220, respectively. For the further convenience of the reader, the citations in this work are symbolized with the initial abbreviation REM.

[2] The inventories of the goods of the Society of Jesus partially inserted in works about Jesuit music (Testimonies of the diligent activities of expulsion of the regulars of the Society) are found in such a state of confusion and incomplete extraction that all the manuscripts need to be analyzed with the judgment of a professional. In this work, the musical history of the Society of Jesus can only benefit from the richest and most complete documentation.

[6] The Novitiate was built between 1713 and 1714. The work on the new Sacristy, begun in 1715, was concluded in 1717. There has always been confusion with respect to the location of the Novitiate, because it has two: one in the College, and another "below", located several blocks distant. In May 1725, 50 pesos were spent "on fowl and desserts, etc., for the dinner the day that the Novitiate was moved." Nonetheless, the Novitiate continued existing "below" which is viewed through the supplies of blankets, articles of consumption and repair. It is probably impossible to determine in which Novitiate the group of students to which Domenico Zipoli belonged would have been installed.

Lange, Francisco Curt. Liner notes for Domenico Zipoli, Misa en Fa Mayor para Coro, Cuerdas y Bajo Continuo. Buenos Aires : Qualiton, 1975. SQI 4059.

A dense veil covered the existence of Domenico Zipoli, without Italian musicological bothering to bring to light additional information brought to light about a composer of considerable talent. Until approximately 1940, the basic, existing information in the European dictionaries gave Domenico Zipoli's birthplace as Nola as son of the kapellmeister of the present day Cathedral. He probably had studied in the Conservatorio della Pieta dei Turchini, one of the four famous establishments for the study of music in Naples, and he probably traveled to Rome in 1696, where, in 1716 he was appointed organist of the Chiesa del Gesù, the main church of the Society of the same name. In that same year, he composed his Opus 1, Sonate d'intavolatura per Organo e Cimbalo, dedicated to Maria Strozzi, Princess of Forano. From 1716 until now, all information about the mysterious composer ceased. In 1930, the famous Argentine historian, Father Guillermo Furlong, published his work Los Jesuítas y la Cultura Rioplatense, mentioning in chapter 13, dedicated to the working musicians of this Order in Paraguay, a "Brother Domenico Zipoli", about whom he supplied some information referring to his origins and activities, taken from accounts of missionaries of the time. Initially, this important discovery did not awaken the necessary curiosity of those who should have taken a professional interested in the case, much like the author of these lines, like Adolfo Salazar afterwards, considered it unlikely that the organist of the Chiesa del Gesù in Rome would have been able to renounce a position so important to travel to a city in the Captaincy of the Rio de la Plata, small and devoid of music and musicians, if we compare it to the height of Roman music in 1716 with the quiet of the colonial Córdoba of Tucumán, endowed with the Jesuit university established by a small number of wealthy families and filled with countless black slaves.

A pamphlet announcing the presence of Zipoli in the Rio de la Plata published by Lauro Ayestarán had the merit of calling attention to the "case of Zipoli", both in Argentina as well as in Europe. Later contributions (de Rubertis, Furlong, Lange) not only confirmed the presence of Zipoli in Córdoba, but also that the writers believe to have definitively rectified fundamental aspects of his basic biography, which were false in origin and later adulterated, most of all by the absence of a professional critic capable of contributing historical truth and impartial analysis. However, the initial idea, that of a second Zipoli, perished after a little while, giving rise on the other hand to exalted local considerations and a superficial biography, without considering that Zipoli's stay in Córdoba represented in the course of his life, an appendix of a scant eight and one half years, of which we would never be able to know if his artistic self resulted in complete satisfaction, even more so because of his decision to travel to Argentina, responded to an essentially religious purpose. The participation of Italy in the clarification of the existence of Zipoli dates a few years, but it was of great importance in the modification of erroneous data and the clarification of his professional evolution. To this should be added the eternal vigilance of Father Furlong and his touching collaboration in our work Domenico Zipoli, Su extraño itinerario profesional y sentimental, Su Opera Omnia.

Zipoli was born in Prato, a few kilometers from Florence on the 17th of October 1688. Prato was an excellent musical city and an important cradle of the construction of organs since Matteo de Prato (14th century). Son of a poor family - his father was a peasant - he received his basic education in the public school of the Cathedral of San Stefano, where without a doubt his musical talent was discovered and cultivated, given that it was the obligation of the maestro di capilla to give free musical education to the

gifted children. Until 1707, Zipoli received his essential musical training in Prato, with the maestro di capilla of the Cathedral, Giovan Batista Becatelli and without a doubt with one or several of the organists of the city. In this year, he obtained a stipend from the Grand Duke to continue his studies in Florence, where he must have been a student, beyond doubt, of Giovanni Maria Casini. This important composer seems to have been a generous protector of Domenico. In Lent of 1708, when he was scarcely 19 years of age, he was included among 24 very important Italian composers from whom it was solicited that they supply the music for the oratorio, Sara in Egitto, among them figured his master Casini, Alessandro Scarlatti, Caldara, and others. A second and final stipend from the Grand Duke of Tuscany [Cosimo III] was granted to him in 1708 causing us to estimate that Zipoli must have arrived in Rome at the end of 1709 or at the beginning of 1710.

In 1959, the famous Italian organist, Luigi Fernando Tagliavini not only published the Sonate d'intavolatura, provided with an important prolog and a notable critical revision, but he also found a biographic note about the composer in the Convent of San Francisco de Bologna provided by Father G.B. Martini, mentioning that Zipoli, after trying to study with [Alessandro] Scarlatti, moved away after a serious conflict, going to spend a brief time in Bologna, soon to be sent by the Grand Duke to the hands of Bernardo Pasquini in Rome. In his life Scarlatti had few students (his son Domenico, Cotumacci, and Hasse) and could have felt an aversion to teaching or granting advice, even more so because Zipoli already had to have been fully developed, to which must be added his respectful and pleasant character, which is evident from the documentation. If he studied with Pasquini, it could have only been a short time because he [Pasquini] died on the 21st of November of 1710. We do not know if Zipoli still saw Scarlatti in Rome or if he undertook the trip to Naples, given that Scarlatti returned to his old position only at the end of 1708 or the beginning of 1709.

Zipoli must have settled in Rome at the latest at the beginning of 1710, where he immediately joined, by prevailing obligation, the Congregazione di Santa Cecilia (Congregation of Saint Cecilia), a guild of composers and performers of extreme importance, founded in 1584, whose seat and altar are found in the Church of San Carlo di Catinari.

The recognition of the great talent of Zipoli happened very quickly. The Director of this Brotherhood of musicians commissioned him to do the Vespers and Mass in homage of Saint Charles in 1710, 1712, and 1713. Although we are lacking the documentary confirmation, we must assume that he held diverse positions in Rome, before he became organist of the Chiesa del Gesù. Given the annulment of the Society of Jesus in Italy in 1773 by Pope Clement XVI, the Jesuit archives before this date are lost, making it impossible for us to find out precisely the period that the young Pratense held this important position. It was also confirmed in Zipoli that which was already normal in Italy during the Renaissance and the Baroque: the abundance of genius in all branches of art and a learning, which gave proof of his talent from a very young age. We know that Zipoli frequented the house of the Strozzi family, of which Maria Teresa, married, mother of various offspring, could have been his student on the harpsichord and had probably been his benefactor, as is clear in the dedication of Opus 1. This Princess (of Forano) joined the Arcadia Romana for her poetic/literary talent and in her palace the most outstanding figures of the arts and letters were frequent guests. Her mother, the Marquesa Ottavia de Scipione Ronzi had been an exalted figure by poets and writers, as much for her beauty as for her spiritual qualities. Among those gathered at their reunions Pasquini and the Scarlattis, father and son (Domenico), were found. Quite probably, the text of the Cantata by Zipoli, placed in modern notation by us, could be attributed to one of these women of elevated intellectual level, and we are inclined to believe that it was Maria Teresa Strozzi.

The decision to enroll in the missionary hosts of the Province of Paraguay was without a doubt a response to the profound religious sentiments of Zipoli, stimulated by the mystic kindling that ran in the surroundings of the Society, particularly in the Colegio de Roma with respect to the incredible results that they obtained in the conversion of the natives to the Catholic faith. His [Zipoli's] older brother, a poet, writer, and professor of humanities was consecrated as a priest in 1708, died young and his younger brother donned the habit in 1720. Domenico's entry into the Society of Jesus in Seville happened between the first of June and the first of July of 1716 and we would point out that he left Rome on his own at the latest in May of that year, the same time in which he had entered the first edition of his Sonate d'intavolatura into circulation. The two books that constitute the volume, the first for organ, the second for harpsichord, received republication in London by Walsh and Hare and by Walsh in 1725 and 1731, respectively. These contributions helped the knowledge of the works in European circles in a more effective way because of the undoubtedly small printing of his 1716 edition.

After staying in Seville for a space of nine months, where he seems to have frequently played the organ in the Cathedral, he departed with a group of missionaries in April of 1717 bound for the Rio de la Plata. They arrived in Buenos Aires in the middle of July, then they split up after a deserved rest at the Colegio of the Society; bound for Córdoba, Zipoli immediately entered the Seminary (Convictorio) of the Colegio Mayor, to start his ecclesiastical studies, which were apparently concluded in 1725, without having been able to be consecrated a priest because the new Bishop had not yet arrived.

Of his professional activities, there are diverse post-mortem testimonies in the accounts of his contemporary fathers Lozano, Peramás, Rillo, Herran, and others. All of them agree in exalting the personality and the worth of the works of Zipoli, Peramás mentioned the supply of compositions written especially for the Viceroy of Lima. An exhaustive review of this commentary by the author of all the discovered Argentine and foreign documentation contributed some information about the details of the creative activity and of the kapellmeister of the Church of the Society in Córdoba; in addition, we discovered in the inventory of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, practiced by the Junta de Temporalides in 1767 in this village of the missions, "nine motets by the author Zipoli"; added to the discovery by Robert Stevenson of an incomparable Mass in the Cathedral of Sucre, and of 2 motets found by Samuel Clara in the Mission of Moxos in Bolivia.

The professional activity of Zipoli had to have been extremely difficult, given that the Society employed singers and instrumentalists, all of them slaves, who performed for the most part by ear.

With the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1767, the profuse existence of European music in the music halls of every one of the villages of the missions, rapidly fell victim to the rodents and humidity typical of the river areas. It also suffered the consequences of illegal appropriation. Also, in this same manner all of the manuscripts of Zipoli and the copies of them met their tragic end, before and after the banishment of the Jesuits.

The Mass in F Major found by Robert Stevenson in the Archive of the Cathedral of Sucre lacks a *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei*. To impute that the author had deliberately responded to some liturgical demand - unknown to us - to eliminate both numbers seems to us to be a criterion so arbitrary as to maintain that "the Neapolitan Mass was always written for 3 voices," which was contradicted by its most illustrious representative, Alessandro Scarlatti. It is very possible that someone decided at the moment, during the 58 years that separated this copy made in Potosí in 1784 from the date of the death of Zipoli (2 January 1726), would have eliminated the two movements to which we alluded

under circumstances and for reasons of which we are also ignorant. Copying music was a daily task not only by the copyists engaged in this function - who were generally active musicians - but also by some of the integral vocalists and instrumentalists of the churches whose parts had suffered excessive wear by the daily use and which required rewriting. This process must have been repeated enough times in the course of 58 or more years since the date when the work was created, even more so, because it had to pass through the various mission villages to ascend to the heights of Potosí much later. In this process it has suffered minor mutilations which could be attributed to the arbitrariness of one or several copyists, especially if we compare the true leading of voices in the Cantata and the Sonata with some passages in the Mass.

All the evidence shows us that the Mass of Domenico Zipoli was dedicated to a determined Mission Village, from whence it started its strange journey toward the resplendent Potosí not without having been previously copied and in a perhaps extravagant manner, for other Reductions or Indian villages. Many of these villages suffered from performance limitations. The absence of basses is explained because their lack is well known, confined to the vocal resources of sopranos, contraltos, and tenors of a young age. It also seems that the limitation of the strings to first and second violins is justified to us as is the presence of the organ and the basso continuo. With this limitation of the vocal and instrumental elements, the work has gained, beyond a shadow of a doubt, in transparency and at the same time in a measure by which we judge - without Jesuit defense - on the other hand totally justified - the normal resources of the mission villages, from which others managed to become gracefully set free, such as the legendary Yapeyú, for example.

In this Mass, the presence of Zipoli's spirit is shown frequently enough in the freshness of the *Kyrie*, in the tonal devices of the *Gloria* with its 3 soloists; in the *Credo*'s fugue which shows a certain similarity to the *Canzona* of the first book of the Intavolatura. It is certain that the work doesn't end with the *Sanctus*, but rather it requires for its concluding part the *Benedictus* and the *Agnus Dei*, absent by the omission of thirds, but hardly by the will of the composer.

The Sonata for Violin and Continuo and the Cantata for Soprano and Continuo, we reveal to us beyond all doubt to be two creative works from the first period of Zipoli, that is, the European. Concerning the productivity of this composer and organist there exists little doubt, but he has disappeared from the history of music during more than two centuries, although it is a true irony of fate that one has not found one vestige of his creation in Italy, outside of the Sonate d'intavolatura per Organo e Cimbalo printed in 1716 and that two of his profane compositions, the Cantata in the Library of Marburg and the Sonata in the Library of Dresden, both in old Germany, would have been preserved through a war of destruction [World War II]. The former was found in the Music Section of the State Library of Berlin, with the number 30.226 (Cantatas), which was moved with all its goods to Marburg, the second was found in Dresden under the heading Music, number 2213/R/S. A tedious revision and the consequent realization of the basso continuo permitted the elimination of a series of suitable errors of all copies that didn't proceed directly from the hand of the author. The Cantata maintains a sharp contrast to the Sonata, by its imposing drama, relating the revelation of Lucretia, wife of Tarquin of Collatia, before the latter, her father, and two friends, of having been violated by Sextus Tarquinius, son of the last King of Rome, known for his arbitrariness. The desperate cry for the revenge of Lucretia before committing suicide for having lost her honor, shows us a Zipoli intruding into the profane field, exhibiting his talent for the dramatic, which in other circumstances should have led him to the field of opera.

The Sonata is a short composition, sprightly, of a charming spontaneity. Like the

Cantata, it is a copy of an original manuscript that has been lost forever. Originally from the old archive that pertained to the Chapel of Music of the Court of Saxony, it much later passed to the collection of the Landes Bibliothek Dresden.

Francisco Curt Lange
Bremen, May 1975

Lemmon, Alfred E. "Domenico Zipoli: Algunos Aspectos de su Relación con la Argentina", Heterofonia: revista musical trimestral, Conservatorio Nacional de Música, México, D.F., vol. 14, no. 72 (Jan-Mar 1981); 35-38.

When it was discovered that in the 18th century a certain Domenico Zipoli had been working in what is today the Republic of Argentina, people reacted with great skepticism, even where there was advanced the theory that in reality there had been two Zipolis.[1] Nevertheless, there is sufficient clarification about the life of Zipoli these days. We know, for example, that he was born in Prato, Italy in 1688; he studied with local masters before going to Florence where he continued his studies with Casini (c.1670-1715); that he was the organist at the Church of Jesus in Roma; that in 1716 he published his Sonate d'intavolatura per Organo e Cimbalo; that later that same year he decided to be a Jesuit missionary and work among the Guaranies in South America; that he died in 1726, after the completion of his ecclesiastical studies, without being ordained a priest since there was no bishop available in the region.

In this article I don't intend to present a biography of Zipoli similar to those of Father Guillermo Furlong-Cardiff, S. J. or Francisco Curt Lange. To act in such a manner would be discourteous toward two scholars who deserve all my respect and who, in addition, have been of great value to me.[2] Nonetheless, this brief article is an attempt to begin to answer the following question: "Why would a musician with the ability of Zipoli chose the unknown region of South America?"

Zipoli wasn't the only Jesuit musician who had gone to remote regions. We have the case of father Tomas Pereira, S. J. who, summoned to the Imperial Court of Beijing (China) for his exceptional musical talent, was converted into one of the most trusted advisors of the emperor.[3]

In the same manner, Juan Maria Salvatiera, S. J. went as an envoy to Mexico because of his great ability at playing the lute. Music and musicians were held in the highest esteem by the native people who, at the same time, responded much more rapidly to the teachings of the missionaries when they were set to music.

The move by Zipoli to Paraguay might seem very strange; however, it isn't really when we consider that fact in light of the artistic climate that prevailed in the missions at that time. Zipoli was only one of many artists and musicians who worked in those areas. Music and art in general had always received a warm welcome in the Jesuit missions. In fact, the first school of music in South America was the result of a missionary impulse. In the research that Father Clement McNaspy, S. J. and Father Thomas Culley, S. J., undertook about the cultivation of the arts that was at the heart of the Society of Jesus in its earliest times, they point out that the founder of that school was Father Leonardo Nunes who was singer, musician, and advisor to Father Nobrega - the founder of the Jesuit mission and city of Sao Paulo in Brazil.[4]

Another reason that Zipoli was well received in the missions of the Paraguay reductions can be found in the very detailed examination of those reductions. Father William V. Bangert S. J., in his book A History of the Society of Jesus, describes the reductions in the following manner:

> Since the time of their first contact with the natives the Jesuits felt the need to establish and ordain a manner of living which would perpetuate a

mature and strong native church among them. [Jose] Anchiela [1534-1597] created communities in Brazil, Tapia in Mexico, and in 1610, the Jesuits did the same in Paraguay. Their primary objective was to try to attain a high level of cultural and spiritual perfection for those "units." They extended the dwellings of the natives (which in some cases numbered 10000) to the north, south, east, and west of the plaza, building them of materials from the area such as stone and adobe. Likewise, they situated the workshops nearby, provisioned with the tools of carpentry, masonry, and goldsmithing. Beyond the apartments of the natives, they extended the fruit orchards, the pastures for cattle, and the farms which provided wheat, rice, sugar cane, and cotton. In the church, the most noble of all the buildings, the natives, instructed in the dignity of the liturgy or inspired by the beauty of the altar, the statues, and the sacred vestments, sang hymns and played their musical instruments. On the festival days, they gathered for the processions with their finest clothes, ornaments, and songs related to the festival and under the direction of the missionaries, they acted out some of the sacred mysteries. In order to found such centers of civilization and faith in the heart of the jungle, the Jesuits put into practice their metallurgical, animal husbandry, farming, and masonry skills. Those abilities had to be complemented with a high measure of patience due to the natural indolence and nomadic tendencies of the natives.[5]

Juan Orrego Salas writes in his article "Argentina" for the Harvard Dictionary of Music:

> The first manifestations of the music of Argentina began to have true continuity with the establishment of the Jesuit missions in the Paraná River region and with the arrival of the musicians prepared and banded together (elsewhere) in those missions when Father Pedro Comental (1595-1665) founded the first music school in the area. As a result, the first achievements in musical education were connected to father Juan Vasseau (aka Vasco or Vaiseau, 1584-1623), Belgian by birth and father Luis Berger (1588-1639) of French origin. Berger's activities extended throughout all of Argentina, Paraguay, and even to Chile. In 1691, the Austrian father Antonio Sepp (1655-1733), who had performed for many years in the choir at the Imperial Court in Vienna, arrived in Buenos Aires. He was employed at the mission of Yapeyú where he founded the most important musical centers of the end of the 17th century. The most distinguished musician assigned to the missions was the Italian composer and organist, Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726), who arrived in Buenos Aires in 1717. He settled in Córdoba where he was the organist of the Jesuit church. In the National Archive, are found references to some "30 polyphonic compositions by brother Zipoli", but in fact, only the manuscript of a Mass for 4 voices and continuo has been discovered. During the rest of the 18th century, Jesuit priests Martin Schmid (1694-1773), Juan Mesner (1703-1768), and Florian Paucke (1719-1780) played an important role in the development of Argentine music.[6]

The Jesuit historian Father Guillermo Furlong-Cardiff dedicated his life to the study of the Paraguay Reductions and the greater part of his major works were focused on the study of the fine arts. A certain passage makes reference to a Father Carlevoix, S. J. who wrote about the Paraguay Reductions in the middle of the 18th century. Father Furlong says:

About the middle of the 18th century and as a synthesis of everything that many missionaries had warned and written in more than a century of experiences, Charlevoix wrote that the Guarany indians have a naturally good ear and a singular inclination for harmony -- an inclination which indicates (as is obvious) a musical aptitude. Although they learned to sing and were able to read musical parts of great difficulty, Charlevoix adds that one would almost have to say that they were natural singers, like the birds.[7]

The same author says much later:

Father Jaime Oliver wrote, after the (Jesuit) expulsion and while he was in exile, his recollections as a missionary among the Guaranies. He remembered, among other things, that "all the towns are musically complete, with 30 musicians. The sopranos are many and good, since they choose the best voices in the village to make application (at a very young age) to the music school whose masters work with great persistence and care; they truly deserve the title "master" since they know it (music) to perfection and perhaps (that is, from time to time) they compose very well, although it isn't necessary since they have the best from Italy and Germany, brought by the lawyers and missionaries who were from those parts (of Europe), and the music of Zipoli; since they are provided with good roles for all their festivals that they use with perfection, which they owe to the work and effort of the Italian and German fathers, music masters, who taught them with so much care ...

All of the churches -- wrote Cardiel in 1747 -- have 30 or 40 musicians. They have arranged with their superiors that they shouldn't surpass 40 so that they don't drain the village's economy. It is an office of great honor among them, likewise with the sextons and monks, and all those belonging to the church. They learn music from the age of 8 or 9 years with an Indian master who teaches them with diligence about the aspects of divine worship in their position.[8]

To conclude, Domenico Zipoli was not an isolated example, but rather one of many Jesuit musicians and artists who worked in the missions. In the same fashion as in Mexico, and long before the first cities were established in the United States, in the area of modern day Argentina there was a high level of culture. Zipoli might well have stayed in Rome permanently and become a well-known organist and composer; nonetheless, he decided to join the missionary movement to South America, to dedicate his musical talent to the greater glory of God.

Notes:

[1] Salazar, Adolfo. "Notes. The Case of Zipoli", Nuestra Musica, 1/2 May 1946 pp. 80-83.

[2] Furlong-Cardiff, Guillermo. "Domenico Zipoli: Músico eximo en Europa y América, 1688-1726", Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, XXIV, Rome, 1955, pp. 418-428. Lange, Francisco Curt. "O caso Domenico Zipoli: uma retificaçao histórica a sua *Opera Omnia*, Barroco (Belo Horizonte, Brasil) 5, 1973, pp. 1-44.

[3] Sebes, Joseph. The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689), Rome: Institutum Historicum S. I., 1961, p.135.

[4] Culley, Thomas D. and McNaspy, Clement J. "The place of Art in the Old Society: A Preliminary Investigation", Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1971 pp. 213-245.

[5] Bangert, William V. A History of the Society of Jesus, St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1972.

[6] Orrego Salas, Juan. "Argentina", in Willi Apel, ed., Harvard Dictionary of Music, Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969, p. 49.

[7] Furlong-Cardiff, Guillermo. Missions and their Guarany villages (1610-1813). Buenos Aires: Tip. Editora, 1962, 475, in accord with the Historie du Paraguay by Pierre F. J. Charlevoix (Paris, 1756, Vol. II, p.86).

[8]Ibid., p. 486, in conjunction with the work of Guillermo Furlong-Cardiff: Músicos argentinos durante la dominación hispánica, Buenos Aires: Huarpes, 1945.

McNaspy, Clemente. "Estado Musical de las Reducciones". Folia Historica de Nordeste. s.l. : Instituto de Historia, 1984. 139-144.

Some thirty years ago, while visiting the Mayan ruins in the Yucatán, I discovered a very romantic [style] painting by a Mexican Jesuit, Gonzalo-Carrusco, that imaginatively suggested the arrival of four missionaries up the Paraná. The oldest has a crucifix in his left hand, while the right hand is raised in a gesture of prayer; the other three are playing the harp, the violin, and the lute; in the meantime, the natives run, arms open, to receive the missionaries and their music. I have not doubt that the Fathers Salioni, Fields, Ortega, and other missionaries would be sufficiently amused to see this creation, in the style of Chateaubriand, who in fact describes the Reductions, which in fact he had never seen, with equal exuberance.

Nevertheless, as a symbol of this fantastic [i.e., of fantasy] picture is not totally ridiculous [i.e., out of place]; scarcely more hyperbolic than the phrase, "The Musical State of the Jesuits", title of a section of the chapter that René Fülöp-Miller dedicates to the Reductions in his famous book, El poder y los secretos de los jesuitas. A journalist rather than an historian, Fülöp-Miller could not resist the temptation to be sensationalist, although his exaggeration always has some basis. In fact, music had a prominent role in the life of the Reductions.

Even a serious musicologist of the breadth of Dr. Robert Stevenson exaggerates when he says, for example, "Domenico Zipoli was only one of the many excellent musicians recruited by the Society of Jesus in the century 1650-1750 for the missionary work in the so-called Paraguay Reductions." It would be more correct to say that it [the Society] had "some" rather than "many excellent musicians." Nor were they "recruited"; since among the (approximately) 14,000 Jesuits that offered themselves for the missions in Paraguay and the 1,000 or more Europeans that in effect came (many of the 1,565 members of the old Paraguay Province were born in America), it is evident that no one was "recruited" and relatively few chosen, musicians or non-musicians. The missionary life was so difficult - physically and psychologically, that the standards for selection were sufficiently demanding and they left out, for a large part, the talented artists.

Nevertheless, among the missionaries were men with talent for music and the other arts. What Josephine Plá says (pp. 66-67 in her book, El Barroco Hispano Guarani, a title that seems to me overly simplified) was applicable to the Jesuit musicians:

> [...] if we exclude Primoli, of notable performance before coming to America ... ; Rivera and Grimau, capable architects; Brassanelli, architect and able sculptor, Verger, la Cruz and the aforementioned Grimau, painters; Sepp, musician, and some more to whom we could attribute the qualified category of Jesuit promoters of the missionary art, it would be impossible to generally confirm which were notable artists, although they are distinguished in other aspects, vital to the work of the Reductions: the teacher, the organizer, or the religious instructor ... The facts, we repeat, authorize us to believe that it was a question of, in most cases of an improvisatory ability to which intelligence, natural industry, and enthusiasm lent happy support.

(I dare to suggest that Josephina Plá had forgotten to mention an architect of great quality, Giovanni Andrea Bianchi, who reached Buenos Aires in the same boat as Primoli and Zipoli, a great "protégé" of Borromini, builder of many of the edifices in Córdoba

and Buenos Aires, whose work has been studied in depth by the outstanding art historian, the Argentine Dalmacio Sobrón).

The first music teacher among the Jesuit missionaries was Father Jean Vaisseau, well known in his native Belgium as a professional musician before becoming a Jesuit. The great missionary Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (whose 400th anniversary we celebrate next year [1985]) knew him and treated him in his classic work, Conquista Espiritual as a man who "worked apostolically in the Reductions and put music in a wonderful place among the Indians." Father Nicolás du Toit (del Techo) was more specific: "Vaisseau had the principal glory of teaching music to the Guaranies; thanks to him, we founded schools of this fine art in various villages of Paraguay where the new Christians learned to play instruments."

In that same boat in which Vaisseau arrived, the French artist Louis Verger, who was a painter, musician, and professional dancer, also came. We know that Father Muzio Vitelleschi, general of the Jesuits in Rome, sent him lute strings, which he had requested, and that he wrote to him: "It pleases me greatly that you might are so busy in San Ignacio teaching the Indians to paint and play instruments to win them by these means and to dispose them that it might make them Christians."

Another Frenchman, Father Noël Bertod, upon arriving at the missions, had marvelled at the sight of the natives singing various pieces of music. Apparently, they were students of Brother Verger, since he praised the fact that they sang "according to the good French style"; he had lent many good services with his musical instrument to that Reduction, since after him went, the Indians - as if captive - and hearing him sing and play, remained motionless and still for nearly four hours.

According to Furlong, all the villages relied on their bands, orchestras, or musical groups, as well as their singers. Over the course of the 18th century, the Guarany villages had churches built with equal perfection. The Reduction of Nuestra Señora de los Reyes Magos (well known for its location in Yapeyú (Argentina)), became the most important musical center; it was also a center where they made musical instruments: organs, harps, violins, trumpets, coronets, oboes, and all classes of instruments which were exported to other Reductions and to the Spanish cities. Other fathers known for music were Claude Ruyer and Pietro Comentale.

To Father Sepp is attributed the fame of having converted Yapeyú into this great musical center, but he informs us that it was a Spanish Jesuit who introduced music into this region. Unfortunately, he doesn't give his name. In any case, Father Sepp was an important musician, legendary as a polyfaceted missionary. Although the modern studies, especially those by Arthur Rabuske, have corrected various exaggerations, his work seems more and more notable.

Sepp was born on the 22nd of November in Caldaro, Tyrol, then Austria, of a noble family, Sepp von Seppenburg zu Salegg. By coincidence, the day of his birth was the festival of St. Cecilia, patron saint of music. He showed a particular talent for music quite young and his family sent him to Vienna where he became a member of the famous choir of the Imperial Court. (A musicologist naturally notes a coincidence: Sepp died the year after the birth of another very famous musician, Joseph Haydn, who also went to Vienna to learn to sing).

Sepp studied music seriously in Augsburg and mastered the basic technique of Baroque music, the "continuo." His colleagues spoke of his "mastery" of some 20 instruments; nonetheless, he himself asserted that "I didn't play very well" on all of them

and any musician knows that no one can master all instruments. More importantly, he was a splendid teacher, something more important in the missions than being a "virtuoso." He was also a composer. He himself wrote: "By the singular disposition of Providence, I learned modern music in Germany ... and now I am striving to reform the vocal and instrumental music in Paraguay according to the German and Roman methods." He adds an interesting detail that suggests a certain rivalry among the missionaries - a national rivalry:

> In Spain, they bought me, at a high price, musical instruments, although inferior to those of Germany (!). The result: this year I taught the following future music masters: 6 good *diebistas*, 4 organists, 30 oboe players, and 18 coronetists, 10 bassoonists, and 8 guitarists ... I am not able to understand from whence the skill of the Indians comes. I have among my neophytes one called Paica, who makes all kinds of musical instruments and plays them with admirable skill. There is no instrument, no matter what it might be, which they cannot learn to play in a short time and they do it with such skill and dexterity that the most skillful masters admired them.

All of you know the relief sculptures that are part of the friezes of the Church of the Reduction of Trinidad, whose principal architect (according to recent discoveries) was Giovanni Battista Primoli, already mentioned as a companion of Bianchi on the ship and of the most eminent musician of the Reductions, also an Italian, Domenico Zipoli. By his eminence as a musician and also on account of the sad fact of the disappearance of almost all of the music composed by his predecessors, I am going to dedicate the rest of this "chat" to the music of Zipoli.

It seems providential that we have at least a portion of some important compositions of Zipoli, and by means of them - recently recorded - we are able to be certain of the reality of Reductionist music, otherwise only known by verbal or sculpturistic (of Trinidad) testimony.

Born in Prato, near Florence on the 17th of October 1688 - as I had the opportunity to personally find out with the help of the parish priest in Prato investigating the archives there (since different authors had indicated different dates). He was a contemporary of the great Domenico Scarlatti, who was already three years old, and of Johann Sebastian Bach, and of Georg Frederich Händel who will also celebrate his tercentenary next year [1685]. Domenico earned a scholarship to study with the father of Scarlatti, Alessandro, in Naples. Much later, he studied with the famous Bernardo Pasquini in Rome, where he composed 2 operas, and in the year 1716, he became music director and organist in the church Il Gesù. He was perhaps the most outstanding musician in the Eternal City, he published the two volumes of compositions for the organ and harpsichord, Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo. Inspired by his contact with the Jesuits and the information arriving in Rome about the Reductions, he joined the Society of Jesus for the Province of Paraguay on the first of July of the same year (1716). He was in Seville to begin his novitiate and to wait for a ship. After waiting many months, he finally embarked and arrived in Buenos Aires the year later (1717) on the 13th of July. In Córdoba, he accomplished his studies in theology and philosophy with great success and was prepared for ordination when he died of tuberculosis on the second of January 1726 in Santa Catalina (near Córdoba) while they awaited the arrival of a bishop.

During his years in Córdoba, Zipoli continued his musical post, giving concerts and composing musical works for the Reductions. Six years after his death, Father

Jerónimo Herrán wrote about the Reduction of Santiago saying that "the music of Brother Domenico Zipoli is the best" and another missionary [Peramás] wrote that after knowing the music of Zipoli, one could not be content with others. Happily, the Viceroy of Lima requested various compositions of him, including a Mass recently recorded in part by Roger Wagner and his chorus and Baroque orchestra in the United States. We are going to listen to the *Gloria* of that Mass, part of which you might have heard in the motion picture that we made about the Reductions. Note that this music uses harpsichord and instruments already mentioned by Sepp and seen in the friezes of Trinidad. There is no doubt that Zipoli had made copies of the Mass for use in the Reductions, likewise the works of his Sonate already published in Rome which he certainly had brought with him to America, being precisely a musical missionary.

During the last 10 years we have helped in a rebirth of the worldwide interest in the music of Zipoli. Especially significant is the article by Robert Stevenson in the new edition of the Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, in which he describes the style of Zipoli as "charming and attractive" and praises his freedom in the modulations from one tonality to another, his moderation in the use of "imitative points", his conciseness, and the melodic quality of his contrapuntal lines, among other virtues. Compositions by Zipoli have been recorded in Germany, Italy, France, and the United States during the last decade and more and more he is included among the important Baroque masters. Recently, in an old Reduction in Bolivia [Concepcion?], a German musicologist [Lange?] has discovered manuscripts of motets and masses attributed to Zipoli and within a little while one hopes that some compositions will be published and perhaps recognized as the works of the same Domenico Zipoli.

Bibliographic Notes:

Curt Lange has published important articles about Zipoli in the Revista de estudios musicales, Mendoza, 1954. Lauro Ayestarán published Domenico Zipoli: vida y obra in Montevideo in 1962; G. Furlong Cardiff, "Domenico Zipoli músico eximo en Europa y América", in the Archivum historicum Societaris Iesu, 1955; and I myself wrote with Thomas D. Culley in the same AHSI, 1971, about the Jesuit music in Brazil, "Music and the Early Jesuits, 1540-1565". The distinguished Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini has recently republished the Sonate of Zipoli in Heidelberg, Süddeutscher Musikverlag).

Peña, et.al., editors. Diccionario de la música labor. Barcelona, 1954; 2313.

Domenico Zipoli. Italian composer, born 16th October 1688 in Prato, grand duchy of Tuscany (Italy), died 2nd January 1726 in Córdoba, Argentina.

He settled in Rome after 1696, where he came to occupy the post of first organist of the Church of the Jesuits in that city. Recently, his baptismal certificate was found, with which the common notion that Zipoli had been born in Naples had been disproven. His musical foundation was probably Roman, as shown by his style, and by the fact that there doesn't exist any proof that he might have studied in the Conservatorio della Pieta de Turchini in Naples. In 1716, he published his collection of works, Sonate d'intavolatura per organo o cimbalo in Rome, (the work) which is composed of 2 parts: the first one is made up of pieces of a sacred character and the second of dances constructed according to the two-part and monothematic principles of the "suite", of whose form he is considered one of the most accomplished representatives. Of that same period in his life dates a theoretical treatise, Principles and ideas for playing the organ and clavier successfully, (written) in Italian. Zipoli was a refined exponent of the Roman school; heir to the formidable organ technique of Frescobaldi, his writings are in the precise point of transition between the contrapuntal formula and the simple dialogue. His writings were free from the ornamental excesses that were typical of the Neapolitan school; his melody was very articulate and all his works enjoy a noble grace. On the first of July 1716, he went to Seville (Spain) where he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus and on the 5th of April 1717 he left from Cadiz with a destination of the Rio de la Plata and he arrived in Buenos Aires in the month of July. From there he went on to Córdoba and acted as the kapellmeister of the Church of the Jesuits (who directed the famous university of Córdoba at that time). His outstanding performance as a composer and organist in colonial America is borne out by the numerous documents which have recently been uncovered; but unfortunately, the musical writings of Zipoli in the New World have not appeared. He ended his days at the estate of Santa Catalina in Córdoba after completing his theological studies and without having been ordained as a priest. Zipoli was the greatest musician (who) came to colonial America where he spent the last nine years of his life.

Works:

Sonate d'intavolatura per organo o cimbalo (Rome, 1716).
First part: tocatta, versi, canzoni, Elevazioni, Offertorio, Postcommunio, and Pastorale.
Second part: Preludii, allemande, correnti, sarabande, gighe, gavotte, and partite.

The theoretical work Principles and ideas for playing the organ and clavier successfully (Rome, 1716).

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The case of Domenico Zipoli[1]

The Uruguayan musicologist, Lauro Ayestarán, published some works in pamphlet form that had previously been published in journals of his country. The one, which is entitled "Domenico Zipoli, el gran compositor y organista romano del 1700 en el Río de la Plata", is of special interest because it refers to a curious figure whose life, not well known and surrounded by certain mystery, arouses suspicions, that, despite the temptations that were raised, cannot become reality because of unreliable data.

The Domenico Zipoli known to historians was a musician whose participation in the Neapolitan keyboard school has certain importance. He was supposedly born in Nola, near Naples, about 1675. It is known that he studied in that great city in the Conservatorio dei Turchini ("Conservatorio della Pietá dei Turchini"). In 1696, we have him residing in Rome, in whose church, *Il Gesù* (of the Jesuits), he was organist; however, one does not know whether he belonged to the Society or not. Many of his compositions were published in years and under conditions which do not allow there to be any doubt. The principal, accessible editions are those of Walsh*, Handel's publisher, who probably took them from the French music publisher and Jesuit, Michel Corrette. One group of these works, which appeared about 1715, contain tocattas, improvisations or intonations, and fugues for organ or harpsichord, or at least, the collection of Walsh bears this general name. Around 1725 (10 years afterward), Walsh submitted for publication two series of works, or two parts of, Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo, the second part of whose group includes 6 Suites de lecciones italianas para clavicembalo [Suites of Italian lessons for harpsichord] (recall that Domenico Scarlatti indifferently entitled his sonatas Exercises and Lessons). These works are the basis of Zipoli's reputation and have been described by Hermann Mendel in his Quellen Lexikon (Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon, begun in 1870 and completed in 1883 by Reissmann, with a total of 13 volumes), from whence the above data originated. With reference to the inclusion of Zipoli in the Neapolitan keyboard art, it is necessary to have the works of Guido Pannain present: Le Origini della scuola musicale napoletana (1914) and Le origine e lo sviluppo dell' arte pianistica in Italia del 1500 al 1700 circa (1918). After the recent works of Willy Apel concerning the influence of the first Spanish keyboard composers on the (then) incipient Neapolitan school, there now exists a discussion full of interest about this point, and the music of Zipoli enters, therefore, within this interest. For Apel, in his works entitled Early Spanish Music for Lute and Keyboard Instruments (1934) and Neapolitan Cembalists as Links between Cabezón and Frescobaldi (1938), the influence of Cabezón is decisively evident in the first Neapolitan composers for the clavier such as Trabacci and Mayone. The link of the crown of Naples to the collateral branch of the Bourbons united the state of general and particularly musical culture between Castilla and the two Sicilies during these centuries.

The mortal figure of Domenico Zipoli vanishes at the same point at which one sees him seated at the console of the Jesuit organ. Now then, in the year 1726, a certain Domenico Zipoli, a native of Prato in Tuscany, died in the Republic of Argentina. Father Pedro Lozano gives credence to it in one of the Cartas Annuas preserved in the National Archive of Munich. In it are testimonies of the important events of the Society between the years 1720 to 1730. It is tempting to assume that this Domenico Zipoli, a Florentine,

was the same Domenico Zipoli, Neapolitan, and we have no more conclusive evidence to support this claim, denying, as Ayestarán does that the music published by Zipoli number 1 acknowledges kinship with the Neapolitan keyboard school, which remains under his responsibility. The idea that the Provenzale style of singing and of the opera singers of the Neapolitan school is not reflected in the works of Zipoli is not a sufficient reason [to make such a conclusion], since it would also have to extend to Alessandro Scarlatti and his son, Domenico, etc.

It is odd that if both Zipolis are the same person (and the name Zipoli is common in Italy, particularly in the south and the Christian name Domenico is also), the one who arrived in Argentina in 1717 would have been sent to Seville the year before to do his novitiate and who once disembarked on the coast of South America would have gone on to Córdoba "to complete his studies" (Cartas Annuas, page 18) which his position as official organist of the great Jesuit Church in Rome makes one think that he would have been advanced, if not in theology, at least in music. If the Zipoli born in Prato came into the world in 1688, then it follow that he would be already playing the organ in that Roman church at 8 years of age, which is slightly improbable. Also, the trail of the Tuscan is lost until 1716, when a Domenico Zipoli appears as organist in the Confessional House in Rome (*odaeum professae romanae adscritus*, Lozano says), which we don't know if it the same as the great church of the Society, *Il Gesú*, in which the Neapolitan was organist 20 years earlier [1696].

Who it was, the Zipoli born in Prato went to the [Jesuit] house of Seville to do his novitiate on the 1st of July 1716, which is the year that we know him as organist. It is risky to assume that this was the author of the Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo, because literally no mention is made to them [the sonatas] in any of the documentation referring to the Zipoli who died in Argentina and because these sonatas [which] appeared in an English edition in 1715 are of an earlier date. In 1716, the Neapolitan Zipoli would have been 41 years old, if he had been born in 1675 as Mendel indicates amidst questions, although others postpone it until 1677 or even until 10 years later, without explaining the reason why they did it, moving his place of birth to some town of "New Castille", the story goes, which would be uncommon in one called Zipoli; but it might well have been able to happen if it were a question of "Jesuit province" and not with a geographic [ones].

The Zipoli [who] arrived in Argentina seems to have only published "a small booklet", according to Father Lozano, which pays tribute to the musical virtues of the little friar recently prepared in Seville, to demonstrate the worth of the one entitled Principia seu Elementa al bene pulsandum Organum et Cimbalum, if this is the one that Lozano mentions as "libello typis excusso", without further titles, because the one which is transcribed is the one that DeBaker says had been composed in Italian prior to the entry of Zipoli into the novitiate (Carlos Sommervogel, Biblioteque de la Compagnie de Jesus, t. VIII, Brussels, 1898). At that time, the reputation of the Neapolitan Zipoli was so great that the authorship of this Sonate is discussed, saying that the publisher Corrette (to whose edition let us suppose that Walsh had recourse) had attributed them to him to sell more [of] his publication, which means that the fame of its author [Zipoli] was already continental, something that had not been silenced by writers like Lozano.

The career in America of Domenico Zipoli number 2 was not long, nor apparently as brilliant as one might have expected if this was the author of the aforementioned Suites, Sonatas, etc. His organ playing was nonetheless notable and attracted a multitude of people who were present to hear him - particularly at the "vespers that lasted nearly all afternoon", according to other testimony that mentions Zipoli as theologian, after confirming that he had been "teacher in the Roman College, from whence he came to our

province." Teacher of what [discipline]? And this Roman College, was it the same [thing] as the Confessional House of Rome and the church of *Il Gesú*? As far as theology goes, this Zipoli hadn't even ended his theological studies in 1726 when he died in Tucumán, according to the document mentioned by Sommervogel where he speaks of the Principia, but of no other works.

Another publication of Ayestarán that deserves mention is the Chronicle of a Musical Time Period in Montevideo in 1830 (Montevideo, 1943). Since the year 1830 is one of that marks the high point of Romanticism in Europe, it is curious to find out how much refers to the musical life in the South American countries of that time. In the writing of the Uruguayan musicologist we see (a parade of) comedies and music, the orchestra, dance and poular song for the stage, and patriotic songs. The second chapter, "How the musical activity of all of the Río de la Plata was initiated in Montevideo in olden times" is particularly interesting as is the bibliography that is inserted at the end of the work.

* Reprinted in Torchi, L'Arte musicale in Italia (vol. III); Farrenc, Trésor du pianiste (vol XI); Pauer, Alte Meister in the Raccolta nazionale della musica Italiana, and others. Recordings in Sachs: Anthologie Sonore, no. 33.

Storni, Hugo. Catalogo de los Jesuitas de la Provincia del Paraguay (Cuenca del Plata) 1585-1768. Rome: Institutum Historicum S. I., 1980; 314.

1566/985[1]. **Zipoli** Domenico, student

Born October 17, 1688, Prato (Florence, Italy) [AHSI 24, 421];
Joined the Province of Paraguay July 1, 1716 [Paraguay, Catalogi breves 1617-1753];
Arrived in the Province of Paraguay July 13, 1717 [Paraguay, Catalógo del Paraguay 1767, 76v.; Pastells 6, 125];
Died January 2, 1726, Córdoba (Argentina) [Paraguay, Catalogi triennales 1703-1762].

Notes:

[1] Initial number is the individual's sequential number in the alphabetic list of the members of the Province of Paraguay; second number is the individual's sequential number of arrival in the Province of Paraguay.

Storni, Hugo. Jesuitas Italianos en el Río de la Plata (Antigua Provincia del Paraguay 1585-1768). Roma : Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1979. 4, 6, 48-49.

Page 4:

With these foundations they formed the largest group by geographic origin of the Jesuits who worked in the old Province of Paraguay, after the group that spoke Spanish. It is a handsome group of 114 Italian Jesuits, who more or less, were present in all the history of this Province. There are 85 priests (75%), 26 *coadjutores* (23%), and 3 students (2%).

In the third group, although somewhat small, we come across one of the figures of the universal history of music, Brother Domenico Zipoli.

Page 6:

In summary, each of the biobibliographic notices has the following elements: the number of alphabetical order; the number of chronological order, according to the date of arrival or of joining the Province or Paraguay; the surname and the first name of each Jesuit; his condition within the Society: c=coadjutor; e=student, s=priest; the years of birth, arrival or joining of the Province of Paraguay, and of death, and the name of the province to which he had belonged earlier. The biography proper follows and below are indicated the documentary sources that I have validated to compose this biography and the other published works that have helped me to complete and enrich the same biography.

Pages 48-49:

114 - 90. Zipoli, Domingo. Student. 1688-1717-1726 Paraguay.

Son of Sabatino Zipoli and Eugenia Varrocchi, born 17 October 1688 in Prato (Florence). On 1 July 1716 he joins the Province of Paraguay directly, being the organist of the church, *Il Gesù* (Rome). On 13 July 1717 he arrives in Buenos Aires (Argentina), forming part of the expedition of Fathers Jiménez and Aguirre. Finished with his studies, he dies 2 January 1726.

Bibliographic Notes:

ARSI "Paraquarium" 6 ff. 80v 94v 111 124; 7a f. 2.

F. C. Lange, "O caso Domenico Zipoli: Uma retficaçao histórica. A sua Opera omnia", Barrocco number 5 (Belo Horizonte 1973) 7-44.

Subira, José. Historia de la música española e hispanoamericana; Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1953. S.v. "Domenico Zipoli", 558-9, 961.

For his work as a composer of music for the keyboard in a foreign country during his youth and his performance as an organist in colonial Spanish America later, an Italian organist named Domenico Zipoli most especially deserves to be cited in this chapter; his radiant light as well as traces of his existence have not taken long to erase. The musical dictionaries indicate Zipoli as the author of a Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo in three editions: the first is a Roman edition of 1716; next, 6 suites printed in London - the great publishing center for chamber music - about 1725; various additional compositions divulged by Torchi in modern times. However, we knew nothing about the place and the date of Zipoli's death.

In recent years, the Uruguayan musicologist, Lauro Ayestarán, has been able to re-establish the biographical facts of that artist which we will summarize here. He was not born in Nola (Naples) about 1675, as was usually said, but rather in Prato (Tuscany) 13 years later, or likely the 15th of October, 1688. He established himself in Rome and was the organist at the Jesuit Church about 1716. After this, we don't know what happened in his life. The investigation of Ayestarán has allowed us to determine precisely that Zipoli went to Seville and entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus of that city on the first of July 1716. Nine months later, Zipoli and 80 other religious persons left on course for Paraguay. Since 1587, the Jesuits had been established in Córdoba (the city today is in the Republic of Argentina). They founded their primary residence in 1589 and 15 years later, they erected a university among this population across the ocean. According to the documents of the time, brother Domingo Zipoli - with a Castillianized Christian name - died in that far away land when he was only 38 years of age. With nine years of residence [there], he was the organist of the Cathedral of Córdoba. As a composer, he was mostly inclined to counterpoint - influenced by his compatriot Frescobaldi and moreover, he tended to employ the dialogue form.

The case of the organist Domenico Zipoli, like that of his contemporary countryman, the violinist Pablo Facco, is one of an artist whose traces were lost after a life begun under brilliant auspices; finally after two centuries their names have reappeared with the rest of their biographies, which binds both musicians to Spanish-speaking nations.

p.961 (under Argentina)

In the 18th century, the Italian Jesuit, Domenico Zipoli, came to this land after he had had success as a composer in Europe and Lauro Ayestarán has gathered many notes about this personality in a very interesting pamphlet.

Udaondo, Enrique. Diccionario biográfico colonial argentino; Buenos Aires : Editorial Huarpes, 1945; p. 979

Domingo Zipoli

Missionary and musician. Born in Prato in Tuscany, the 15th of October 1688 and when he was only 8 years old, he was taken to Rome. Endowed with an exceptional temperament for music, an art in which he succeeded in greatly excelling, he was dedicated to it and became one of the greatest organists of all times. During the first fifteen years of the 18th century, Zipoli is one of the most brilliant proponents of Roman music, culminating in 1716 with the publication of the *Sonate d' intavolatura per organo e cimbalo*. These pieces, according to learned critics, offer the most brilliant exposition of Italian contrapuntal art - solid, but flexible and inspired. A few months after having published his Sonata, in the month of June 1717, Father Zipoli, who by this time had joined the Society of Jesus, disembarked on the coasts of the Rio de la Plata, and the Italian master went from that city to Córdoba with the intention of completing his ecclesiastical studies. From his arrival he was designated to occupy the post as the head organist of the church of the Jesuits. Regarding the brilliant temperament of Father Zipoli, Father Lozano (who had occasion to hear him) stated:

> He was most skilled in music as was shown by a small book that he published. He had been kapellmeister of the Confessional House in Rome and precisely when they might expect better things of him, he sacrificed everything for the salvation of the Indians and embarked for Paraguay. He gave great solemnity to the religious festivals through the music, with no small pleasure to the Spaniards and likewise to the natives. Great were the multitudes of people who went to our church with the desire to hear him play so beautifully.

Almost half a century after the disappearance of this Italian musician, his scores and compositions became so popular that they were requested from Peru. Nine years after he arrived in the Americas, Father Domenico Zipoli's death occurred in the city of Córdoba on the second of January 1726. According to the opinion of a modern critic and historian, Lauro Ayestarán, author of a pamphlet published in Montevideo in 1941, says: "Zipoli was one of the greatest organists of all times, and all the information that has come down to us, through manuals, dictionaries, and histories of music, unanimously affirm this judgment." Father Guillermo Furlong, S.J., member of the National Academy of History, gave a lecture in 1943 about "Seven great masters of colonial Rioplatense music," each one of whom is covered in this work: fathers Juan Vaseo, Luis Verger, Antonio Sepp, Juan Fecha, Florian Paucke, Martin Schmid, and Juan Mesnes.

APPENDIX C

Analysis of Bibliographic Records (Method and Descriptive Data):

This appendix gives summary quantitative information about Zipoli-related material cataloged in the United States. A search of the OCLC Online Union Catalog (OLUC) on 08 January 1991 using the EPIC service revealed that there were 181 bibliographic records pertaining to Domenico Zipoli. The search used the basic index, subject index and personal name index to accomplish an exhaustive retrieval. The results of the search were downloaded and manually examined to eliminate false hits. The SAS[r] System was then used to analyze various components of the bibliographic records. Finally, it should be noted that the numbers reported in the descriptive statistical tables refer to bibliographic records, not unique titles.

The following are descriptive statistics about those records:

Table 1
Type of Record

Type of Record	Count	PerCent
Musical Sound Recording	95	52.5
Musical Score (print or microform)	74	40.9
Language material (print or microform)	9	5.0
Manuscripts of music (print or microform)	3	1.6
Totals	181	100.0

Table 2
Language

Language	Count	PerCent
English	11	6.1
Italian	8	4.4
Spanish	5	2.8
German	4	2.2
Latin	2	1.1
Not applicable*	151	83.4
Totals	181	100.0

* "Not applicable" applies to instrumental musical scores and sound recordings.

Table 3
Imprint Date

Date Range	Count	PerCent
1851-1900	16	8.8
1901-1910	2	1.1
1911-1920	3	1.6
1921-1930	6	3.3
1931-1940	8	4.4
1941-1950	3	1.6
1951-1960	16	8.8
1961-1970	28	15.5
1971-1980	55	30.7
1981-	42	23.2
Missing*	2	1.1
Totals	181	100.1**

* Date was missing, incomplete, or invalid.

** Total greater than 100% due to rounding.

Table 4
Country of Publication

Country of Publication	Count	PerCent
United States	68	37.6
Germany (Eastern and Western)	27	14.9
Italy	22	12.2
France	16	8.8
Netherlands	6	3.3
United Kingdom	6	3.3
Hungary	5	2.8
Argentina	3	1.7
Canada	2	1.1
Sweden	2	1.1
Uruguay	2	1.1
Others*	6	3.3
Country Unknown**	16	8.8
Totals	181	100.0

* "Others" are countries with one publication each: Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Columbia, Spain, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia.

** Country of publication was not discernible from the primary cataloging source.

Although Zipoli's own (discovered) output was scarce, these numbers from the OLUC would indicate that the arrangements and recorded performances of his works are not uncommon. However, as Table 1 has shown, monographic material in print or microform devoted to Zipoli are quite rare; the following section will provide additional detail on these items.

Except for the occasional thesis or pamphlet, most of the scholarly work about Zipoli is found as 1) entries in musical dictionaries and encyclopedias, 2) commentaries in period or regional works (i.e., Baroque or South America, respectively), or 3) articles in historical or musicological journals. As such, bibliometric data derived from the OLUC gives a conservative account of the materials actually available.

Finally, it is important to note that the OLUC has a strong book, English language, and United States imprint bias. Although Table 4 includes several foreign countries of publication, it cannot be conclusively stated that this distribution is representative of the actual distribution of works pertaining to Zipoli.

Analysis of the Books Records

The 9 books cataloged on the OLUC represent 5 titles some with multiple editions: 1) The keyboard music of Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726), a dissertation by Susan Elizabeth Erickson-Bloch, 2) Memorias del músico Zipoli, a fictional work by Pedro José Frias, first and second editions, 3) Domenico Zipoli, el gran compositor y organista romano del 1700 en el Rio de la Plata, a scholarly pamphlet by Lauro Ayestarán, 4) Domenico Zipoli, vida y obra, by Lauro Ayestarán, a corrected and expanded version of the preceding work, and 5) The Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo of Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726), a masters' thesis by Alfred E. Lemmon.

Frias' and Ayestarán's works are in Spanish and were published in Argentina; the works of Erickson-Bloch and Lemmon are in English and published in the United States. Aside from the two works by Ayestarán, it is interesting to note that the rest of these works were published between the years 1972-1975. It is unclear from the texts themselves why this clustering of work has occurred, although some reasons can be proposed: 1) the approaching 250th anniversary of the death of Zipoli in 1976, 2) a period of relative stasis in the scholarly facts about Zipoli's life and works following the discoveries by Claro, Lange, and Stevenson, and 3) the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the founding of Córdoba, 1573-1973.

As mentioned before, the OLUC and Dissertation Abstracts provide good coverage of books and theses printed in the United States, although they do not contain those (United States) theses and dissertations which are not cataloged due to university regulations. This situation is further compounded by the fact that there is minimal Latin American participation in the OLUC and that Latin American theses and dissertations likely would not be the first items cataloged on the system in the event that Latin American libraries did participate more fully. Therefore, it cannot be conclusively stated that all book materials about Zipoli are represented by this search of the OLUC and related databases such as Dissertation Abstracts. Based on these available sources, we

can say that the scholarly corpus of information about Zipoli coalesces around a relatively few, highly cited works as was be shown in the citation analysis of the Spanish-language works.

Analysis of the Scores Records

Scores comprise the second largest group of bibliographic items connected to Zipoli. There are 77 scores and manuscripts of scores, either in print or microform, representing 51 unique titles.

Zipoli is listed as the main entry in 32 scores, denoting that the bibliographic item consists solely of the works by the composer. The Sonate d'Intavolatura occurs in its complete, original form for organ and harpsichord as well as selections arranged for solo and ensemble instruments such as: flute and piano; trumpet and organ; recorder trio; 2 piano four hands; oboe, cello and string orchestra; woodwind trio; carillon; harp; guitar; solo piano. Microfilms of the Walsh and Roman editions of the Sonate d'intavolatura are represented in this group as is the edition included in Torchi's L'arte musicale in Italia ...[1] and Tagliavini's definitive modern edition.[2] In addition to the Sonate d'Intavolatura, both manuscript (transcriptions by Lange) and commercial editions (by Becheri) of the cantata, Dell'offesse a vendicarmi and the Sonata for violin and continuo are represented. The Mass in F Major has not been commercially published although Robert Stevenson has included it in the Spring-Summer 1988 Inter-American Music Review (vol IX, number 2, p. 35-89). Three motets (Beatus Vir, Tantum Ergo, and Laudate Dominum) discovered by Kennedy have been transcribed and performed although not commercially published or recorded. The Tantum Ergo[3] and Letania

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1.Torchi. L'arte musicale Italia ..., Milano etc., s.n., s.d. v. 3, p. 373-404.

2.Tagliavini, Sonate d'Intavolatura.

3.This work is the same one that Kennedy discovered in Concepción. Kennedy, "Colonial Music," fn. 23.

discovered by Claro and seven Vespers discovered by Lange have not been commercially published or recorded in the United States; the existence of any of these works as a score or sound recording in Latin America is unknown.

The 45 works for which Zipoli is not mentioned as the main entry (either in a contents note or added entry field) are anthologies of pieces which contain selections from the Sonate d'Intavolatura. In addition to these works for which the contents are delineated, there are doubtless many other period or graded anthologies that contain selections from the Sonate d'intavolatura, e.g.: The Baroque Period edited by Denes Agay, published by Yorktown Music Press (New York, 1971); The Joy of Baroque edited by Denes Agay, published by Yorktown Music Press (New York, 1974); Italian Masters of the Harpsichord and Clavichord of the Kalmus Music Library, published by Belwin-Mills (Melville, New York, n.d.). The cataloging for the anthologies retrieved in this search was relatively imprecise in indicating which of the selections from the Sonate d'Intavolatura were included. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that the several parts of the Sonate d'Intavolatura were given the same name, e.g., Giga, Preludio, Canzona. Without a key signature to distinguish them, it is difficult to say conclusively that any one selection enjoys more popularity than another.

Analysis of the Sound Recordings Records

Over one-half (95) of the bibliographic records in the OLUC associated with Zipoli are for sound recordings. All of Zipoli's commercially published, extant works have been recorded.

Although 44 of the 95 sound recordings were published in the United States, that fact does not necessarily indicate a demand for Zipoli's music among American classical music consumers. Rather, all the United States releases merely contained selections by Zipoli on albums highlighting a period, artist, or instrument. It is important to note that the efforts to record the complete works of Zipoli came from the country of his birth (Italy) and of his missionary sojourn and death (Argentina).

The 95 sound recording records represent 78 unique titles in the following formats:

Long Playing Record (LP)	80
Compact Disk (CD)	7
Cassette	7
Reel to reel tape	1

The complete Sonate d'Intavolatura has recorded twice. The two compact disk edition performed by Caesare Teghillo for Studio Ars Organi (Torino, Italy) in 1985 and 1987 are commercially available in the United States (Gothic Records, Tustin CA). An earlier LP of the complete Sonate appeared in Uruguay in the 1960s and is no longer commercially available.

Selections from the Sonate have appeared on many of the remaining sound recordings, some of which are still commercially available. Schwann lists only one CD containing a work by Zipoli, entitled Concertos pour Trompette. The work by Zipoli is an arrangement for trumpet which consists of the *Verso (I), Canzona, All' Elevazione (I), and All' Offertorio* in F Major from part 1 of the Sonate performed by Maurice André on the Erato label. This same arrangement is also available on the Musical Heritage Society label on the LP, Maurice André plays Albinoni, Bach, and Zipoli. Specific selections from the Sonate have enjoyed some popularity as recorded pieces, since many have been recorded multiple times both on the prescribed instruments and in various arrangements:

Pastorale (C Major)	27
All' Offertorio (C Major)	13
Canzona (G Minor)	9
Canzona (F Major)	6
All' Elevazione (F major)	6
All' Elevazione (C major)	5

Finally, the Mass in F Major, the Sonata in A Major for Violin and Continuo and the cantata, Dell'offese a vendicarmi were all recorded in Argentina for the Qualiton label in 1975 under the title of Misa en fa mayor para coro, solistas, cuerdas y bajo continuo. Sonata en la mayor para violin y bajo continuo. Cantata; Dell'offese a vendicarmi. Unfortunately, this fine collection of the remainder of Zipoli's *Opera Omnia* is no longer commercially available in the United States The *Gloria* of the Mass was recorded on an LP, Festival of Early Latin American Music, in 1975 on the Eldorado label for the UCLA Latin American Center.

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